A THEORY OF COORDINATION: AN EXAMINATION OF ITS PRACTICE IN THREE WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN HOBART

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Tasmania
December, 1979.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My debt to the people working in all three welfare organizations is obvious, but I must especially acknowledge the help given by those officers who underwent social work training at some point in the course of the study. From them I gathered the most. Theoretical proficiency in itself is insufficient unless grounded in experience and I benefitted by the experience of those officers in addition to my involvement in doing this research. My role as a fieldwork educator facilitated access to the main organizations.

My supervisor, Dr. R. J. K. Chapman has always been a constant source of help and encouragement. To him I am deeply grateful.

I would also like to thank Mr. A. W. Jamrozik, Head of the School of Social Work, Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, for reading and commenting on the manuscript. I have also benefitted from the Staff at the Institute of Criminology, University of Sheffield in many ways. During the year I was at the University of Sheffield I was fortunate in being able to discuss with a number of individuals who were knowledgeable about the substantive and theoretical areas covered in the study. I express my sincere

thanks to all of them. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Karen Willis who patiently typed and retyped the thesis.

D.C.

ABSTRACT

In recent times social welfare workers, like all other professional groups involved in the personal services which are designed to mould, remould, and adjust the social and psychological wellbeing of a large proportion of the population, have demanded a comprehensive approach to serving their clients. This is a resultant of a recognition of social problems in a new light, dependent upon the increased knowledge and skill of the professional experts as well as a felt gap in the amelioration of such social problems. This study has identified the latter problem as belonging to the area of interorganizational coordination and as deserving of careful and detailed study. Evidence is gathered to show that it is an area of concern to the professionals in the field, welfare administrators, as well as to the sociologists interested in social welfare.

By using existing literature on the sociology of organizations, the concept of coordination has been treated as embodying those interactions between organizations which are of a facilitative nature. Along the conventional paradigms of problem oriented sociological research three types of variables, namely, analytic (information about members), structural (information about relations among members and the frameworks within which such relations occur), and global (information about systems of organizations), have been

identified and discussed as critical components of a theory of coordination. The theoretical framework on coordination is designed to illustrate how much better we can understand that substantive area of sociology commonly designated as 'inter-organizational relations'. Moreover, the usefulness of major theoretical perspectives in sociology, such as structural-functionalism, exchange theory and systems theory has been demonstrated in relating the different variables to the theory. From the refined theoretical framework twelve hypotheses were enunciated to test out empirically the nature of coordinating networks in three welfare organizations in Hobart.

The results of the empirical study have shown the extent and intensity of facilitative interorganizational interactions that take place in the welfare scene in Hobart, seen from the vantage points of the three organizations included in the study. It has also shown how the efforts of the workers in the three organizations resulted in a network of both private and public organizations, whose function, program, and the strength of the interaction could be fully understood in terms of the essentials of the postulated theory. We have seen that the differential emphasis given to outside transactions has many antecedent variables, analytic, structural, as well as global. For example, there was sufficient evidence to argue that lines of authority, notions of hierarchy, control of decision making power, combined

with individual attributes of workers, moulded not only the internal dynamics of an organization, but outside exchanges as well. There was a negative association between organizational attributes such as hierarchy and centralized decision making, and interorganizational behaviour of employees. The professionally qualified workers in the two main organizations studied regarded the presence of such organizational guidelines as less valid for them than the dictates of their own professional training. Furthermore, professional expertise as demonstrated by credentials and performance did not necessarily mesh with the rationality of the 'bureaucracy' as exemplified by the actions of managers in the area of coordination. The use of the exchange perspective and systems theory helped to explain the phenomenon of coordination as a two-way process between organizational structure and environment rather than a passive result of environmental or organizational determinism. Most significantly, the study of welfare organizations has revealed the intriguing nature of their loose but productive structures and their impact on the behaviour of organizational employees. It is an organizational theory that takes account of such diversity in forms that can instill a common frame of reference to sociologists interested in the study of organizations.

The study consists of seven chapters. The first three chapters are primarily theoretical. The third chapter is the culmination of arguments developed in the preceding chapters and deals with the classification, refinement, and systematization of

of variables to bring out the relationships between them within a coherent framework. It was through the cross tabulation of variables that the hypotheses were drawn out. Chapters five and six describe and analyse the data from the three organizations and use some statistical techniques in the testing out of the hypotheses. The final chapter draws out the implications of the study. As anticipated in chapter one, the study clearly points out the strains and problems produced by the growing expansion of social welfare and the demand for a comprehensive approach to the treatment of clients. In the final chapter, the relevance of the study to the wider areas of policy and practice is explored to indicate the relevance of studies on organizational dynamics to the overall improvement of social welfare. It is the contention of this study that the main elements of the service delivery system, namely, organizational structures, environments, and staff, determine the effectiveness of any social policy in operation. It is through a responsible intellectual enquiry that we can help those who manage the weighty problems of a large segment of our society devise strategies to make the services a useful addition to the struggle for human welfare.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree of diploma in any University; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

(M. V. D. Chandraratna)

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE:

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION AS AN AREA OF CONCERN

1.1 Introduction

Social welfare deals with one of the most compelling issues of human wellbeing in modern industrial societies. In keeping with the recent rediscovery of social problems in a new light it is no exaggeration to call institutionalized social welfare as a social movement in its own right. The obvious consequence has been the bureaucratization of 'personal social services'. The personnel involved in the delivery of social services have demanded a comprehensive approach to servicing the clients; a demand calling for the recognition of the interdependence among the many and varied agencies engaged in social welfare. These facilitative arrangements between agencies need analysis if the so called benefits claimed by the experts are to be seen in perspective. Research into such facilitative coordination networks has received very scant attention from the researchers whose energies have so far been in the areas of bureaucratic 'pathos'-or the delineation of the sociological character of welfare bureaucracies. The purpose

of this chapter is to demonstrate the importance of that neglected area of interorganizational coordination to the professionals in the field, welfare administrators, as well as to the sociologists interested in social welfare.

1.2 Conceptions of Social Welfare

One of the most difficult tasks in social analysis is the demarcation of various social systems within a society. Human activities are so interconnected and interdependent as to give any society the character of a seamless web. Given the somewhat seamless character of the web of interdependence it is difficult to break up the totality of interaction into manageable complexes. The problem seems further complicated when we consider the fact that the boundaries between various action systems vary from society to society. In one society we may find, for example, a clear definition of economic and political functions whereas in another the two functions may fuse together considerably.[1]

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1. The rise of Soviet and Fascist economies and the prospect of democratic socialism in many countries has seen considerable state intervention in the affairs of the economy. In these situations the functions of the two sub-systems of polity and economy cannot be easily differentiated.

Sociologists have tried to overcome the above mentioned difficulty by developing a list of functions common to all social systems. Thus the sequence of acts that have an economic character would comprise the economic system and the system of actions comprising all of those elements that have a political character would be the political system. The separation of functions in this manner permits the use of analytical boundaries, rather than natural boundaries to examine a social system. Through a clear definition of functions one can begin to understand the inter-relationships of content; for what interests us is the content of that reality. Perhaps, the form and content may not always be intrinsically separate, yet they are recognizable in analysis.

All human societies demand the satisfactory performance of certain essential social functions. The content of such basic social functions such as child rearing, production, consumption, and distribution of goods and services tends to be defined not entirely by the parties to the contract but by the norms and sanctions of a larger social system. The norms and sanctions governing a particular social function which remain stable or constant over time are called an institutionalized set of principles, or, in short, an institution.[2]

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2. The best illustration of the concept of institution is by Durkheim in his famous analysis of the contract in *The Division of Labour*. Durkheim rejected Spencer's notion of contract as inadequate as it described only the interests that parties bring to contracts and not the institution of contract. To Durkheim the institution of contract is prior to, external to, and constraining, the acts of contracting parties. By providing a structure of generalized norms and

Institutions are the networks of relationships that determine the accepted way of carrying out these essential social functions and implied in that statement is the idea of a social constraint. Collective ways of acting and thinking have a reality outside the individuals who make up that social system.

There is no single institution, however, that is the total guardian of any social function and, by way of example, Gilbert and Specht remark that:

> "while the primary institution for socialization in our society is the family, it is by no means the only one. Religious and educational organizations and social service organizations also assume some responsibilities for socialization, but this is not the primary or core function of these institutions".[3]

The social scientist in fact does recognize that only a minority of social institutions in today's society is consciously

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procedures, the institution permits contracts by either narrowing the range or establishing a basis for negotiation. The institution thereby allows negotiators to form alliances without resorting to the creation of a complete social structure anew. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, trans. and ed., George Simpson, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), Ch. 7, pp. 220-229. Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. xvi-xviii and xxii.

3. Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht, *Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 4.

designed while the majority has just grown as the undesigned results of human actions. Obviously therefore one has to accept that social institutions have a functional or an instrumental value as means to the attainment of certain invaluable social ends. Popper reminds us that they should be studied and analyzed "as machines rather than as organisms".[4]

The major institutional activities of a society may be analytically separated into five categories--production; distribution and consumption; socialization; social control; social integration; and mutual support. Table I-I is a diagrammatic representation of the essential social functions carried out by the major institutions in any society.

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4. Viewed in a historical perspective the two views--that social institutions are either "designed" or that they just "grow"--correspond to the functionalist and the evolutionalist views. However, the functionalists claim that even the "undesigned" social institutions may emerge as unintended consequences of rational actions. Arguments about the questions of origin are quite independent of the questions as to their role in society. K. R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, (London: Routledge, 1957), Ch. 1.

TABLE I-I

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS, INSTITUTIONS, AND INSTRUMENTALITIES

SOCIAL FUNCTION	MAJOR INSTITUTION	KEY INSTRUMENTALITY*
Socialization	Family+	Family
Integration	Religion	Church
Production, Distribution, and Exchange	Economy	Firm
Social Control	Polity	Government
Mutual Support	Social Welfare	Welfare Organization

* Key instrumentality is the major organization or apparatus that is identified with the particular social function.

\+ 'The Family' as a social institution does not designate a palpable phenomenon here. It refers to a set of ideas, norms and sanctions about a particular social construct within which men and women relate to each other. These normative principles set guidelines as to the territory within which actions occur; the number of persons who occupy that territory; characteristics of the persons who should be socially related within that relationship. The family as a key instrumentality is the actual acting out of those guidelines which may take various accepted forms such as nuclear family, single parent family, consanguineal family, and so on. Ethnomethodologists like Cicourel and Garfinkel use 'organization' or rather 'an organization of social actions' to include both. See Aaron V. Cicourel, *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 53.

It is easy to understand that, as societies become differentiated, there is a tendency to evolve new institutions specializing in functions that were originally in the domains of the existing institutions.[5] For example, in Table I-I, the first four functions, institutions and instrumentalities have been generally accepted as key structural components of every social system. This is because these are the essential stable conditions of social action, and, as such, contribute to the uninterrupted functioning of social systems. The key instrumentality mentioned in Table I-I against each main institution is the main organizational structure through which the stipulated social function is carried out. This does not suggest that any other organization is prohibited from contributing some activity. To elaborate the above argument further, formal government, for example, is the main instrument of social control but many other social units including the family, church, work organizations, and social agencies may also contribute significantly to the social control function.

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5. The term institution is conceptualized at two levels of abstraction. It can be used to mean a particular organization such as a business organization carrying out economic functions; or the sum of all organizations, norms, procedures, and approved action patterns involved in governing such economic activities. We use the term instrumentality or organization to refer to the former and the term institution to refer to the latter. It may be useful to note here that sociologists studying institutions stress heavily the approved action patterns with their subjective components of expectations, probabilities and variability. Such a micro-sociological exploration would take us beyond the concerns of this study.

In Table I-I the most problematic of all social institutions is social welfare. The core function that it is responsible for, namely, mutual support may occur through a variety of institutions and, in simple societies, it has been, and still is so. As societies become complex, organizations develop specially to carry out mutual support activities, such as voluntary agencies and government.

Titmuss has pointed out that the increasing division of labour in modern society and the increasing differentiation of roles, statuses, organizations and situations lead to new categories for concern.[6] It is also true that as we make finer distinctions among types of people and their situations there is an inevitable pressure to expand the supportive services of the welfare state and the inevitable growth of the institution of social welfare. Gilbert and Specht argue with reason, therefore, that "a comprehensive listing of social functions appropriate to contemporary industrialized societies should include the institution of social welfare which is that patterning of relationships which develops in society to carry out mutual

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6. Richard M. Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959), Ch. I.

support functions".[7] This institution of social welfare tends to draw in heavily the functions of integration, social control, and even consumption.[8]

The demarcation of social welfare as a separate 'social institution'--a synonym for a system process--is complicated by its functional diffuseness. While the other accepted institutions of society carry out social functions which overlap only at the periphery, social welfare tends to be "defined in terms that are

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7. Gilbert and Specht, *Social Welfare Policy*, p. 5. Durkheim also noted that a consequence of an increasing differentiation was the need for coordinating and solidifying the interactions among individuals whose interests become progressively diversified. Although Durkheim locates this integration largely in the institution of the legal structure, similar integrative forces are discerned elsewhere in society. Social Welfare is one such institution. See Durkheim, *The Division of Labour*, p. 131 and pp. 353-354.

8. See Kenneth Boulding, "The Boundaries of Social Policy", *Social Work*, 12,1 (January 1967): pp. 3-11, for an emphasis on integrative elements; Richard M. Titmuss, *Commitment to Welfare*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), Ch. 16, pp. 188-200, for an emphasis on distributive and consummatory elements in social welfare. Admittedly, a truly analytical scheme that permits derivation of the multiplicity of functions in any social institution is the one proposed by Parsons. According to him the basic functions of any institution would be adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance. Talcott Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology", in *Sociology Today*, ed., Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 60-65.

relative to and dependent upon the other institutional functions".[9] If we subscribe to such a derivative notion it becomes slightly inappropriate to list alongside other primary functions of society.

The definition of social welfare in relative terms infers that societies have bigger investments in the other social institutions, for social order is assumed to weigh heavily on their proper performance. It is true that some social groups and ideologies are served better by devaluing the function of social welfare and hence we should not be surprised if some social theories fail to emphasize its significance. This is an issue that has immediate consequences for social progress and in social welfare literature it is debated under the rubric of residual versus institutional orientations to social welfare.

The controversy surrounding the residual and institutional views is highlighted by Wilensky and Lebeaux. The 'residual' view of social welfare, in vogue before the Great Depression, sees social welfare as an emergency function to be utilized when the normal institutional channels fail to perform adequately. It is a temporary substitute for the failure of individuals and is construed as a negative and undesirable set of activities. The 'institutional' view of social welfare, on the other hand,

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9. Gilbert and Specht, *Social Welfare Policy*, p. 6.

conceives it not as a safety net to catch the failures of other institutions but as a basic social institution carrying out an integral 'firstline' function of modern society. It then carries none of the stigma of the 'dole' or charity but is accepted as a normal mechanism through which individuals, families, and communities fulfill their social needs of a modern technological society.[10]

Whether the institutional or residual notions of social welfare prevail in modern society depends in large measure on how we comprehend the causes and the incidence of unmet needs in society. In both conceptions, there is a significant common element of inadequacy of other institutional structures in meeting people's needs. The fundamental issue becomes one of the social structure. What Wilensky and Lebeaux observe with regard to the American Society still holds true in any contemporary industrial society.

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10 Harold Wilensky and Charles Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, (New York: Russel Sage, 1968), p. 138. Also see Milton Friedman on the pitfalls and misconceptions in our present welfare programmes. Even though categorization is always hazardous, his position can roughly be classified as being in harmony with the residual orientation of social welfare. However, his comments are important in that they reflect the views of, what may well be, a majority of Society. Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 177-189.

> "While these two views seem antithetical, in practice American social work has tried to combine them, and current trends in social welfare present a middle course. Those who lament the passing of the old order insist that the second ideology is undermining individual character and the national social structure. Those who bewail our future to achieve utopia today argue that the residual conception is an obstacle which must be removed before we can produce the good life for all. In our view neither ideology exists in a vacuum; each is a reflection of... broader cultural and social conditions....With further industrialization the second is likely to prevail.[11]

Wilensky and Lebeaux also argue that under continuing industrialization all institutions will take on social welfare aims. The "welfare state" will become a "welfare society". This society, presumably the end point of the development of the institutional view, will recognize "the inability of the individual to provide for himself, or meet all his needs in family and work settings;... and the helping services achieve regular institutional status".[12]

When social welfare assumes the role of a major social institution whose core function is mutual support, an elaborate system of public and private organizations develops for the purpose. As the organizations develop, patterns of agency operation become a crucial element in the delivery of services. Historically, the agency has become the locus of practice and professional services are wholly provided within and through administrative structures.

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11. Wilensky and Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, p. 140.

12. Ibid, pp. 140 and 147.

Organizational conditions have greater relevance for the social worker than for the physician and lawyer. "The social worker... is a sophisticated and accomplished 'organization man' ".[13]

1.3 Troubles and Issues--A Change in Orientation

The institutional conception of social welfare arose from the notion that massive manifestations of social problems imply a weakness in the social structure of modern society. Mills called attention to the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination works as between the 'personal troubles of the milieu' and 'the public issues of the social structure'. He says:

> "What we experience in various and specific milieux, ... is often caused by social changes. Accordingly, to understand the changes of the many personal milieux, we are required to look beyond them. And the number and variety of such structural changes increase as the institutions within which we live become more embracing and more intricately connected with one another. To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with sensibility is to be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieux."[14]

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13. Robert D. Vinter, "The Social Structure of Service", in *Issues in American Social Work*, ed., Alfred J. Kahn (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 263.

14. C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 17 et. passim. It is wishful thinking to argue that Mills is simply talking about what most social scientists practice when they see 'rates' of events. Many of the carriers of the so-called sociological tradition do not possess the change oriented perspective which Mills had in his package of history and biography. Issues to Mills are what contradictions are to Marxists. See Barry Krisburg, "The Sociological Imagination Revisited", *The Canadian Journal of Criminology* 16,2 (1974): pp. 145-161.

Mills clarifies the notion that massive manifestations of social problems imply that there are weaknesses in the social structure that need rectification. He points out that to some extent personal problems are the result of structural changes and transitions in society that have to be understood and dealt with. Social workers have been preoccupied for a long time with the same issue--the dichotomy between social work as cause and as function and, hence, "the relative merits of what have been referred to as retail and wholesale approaches to the solution of social problems".[15]

The charge that social welfare is too closely identified with social casework is a sequel to the above controversy.

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15. Paul E. Weinberger, ed., *Perspectives on Social Welfare*, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1969), p. 15. Even the radical versions of social work, like community sociotherapy have not been free of criticism. Viewed in historical perspective one sees a consistency in ideology, in promoting individual conformity without political movements as forces of change. As far back as 1918 Thomas and Znaniecki wrote in their study of the Polish peasant that "the case method...may bring efficient temporary help to the individual [but] it does not continue the social progress of the community." In 1975 Galper astutely observes that even the best of radical approaches have failed "not as much because of its slowness and the modesty of its immediate goals as because of the fact that chipping away does not chip away. Reformism is an illusion." See Martin Rein, "Social Work in Search of a Radical Profession", *Social Work*, 15,2 (April, 1970) pp. 13-28 and Jeffrey H. Galper, *The Politics of Social Services* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 87.

Individual psychological orientation to social problems is challenged because it diverts attention away from the need for basic social changes. Therefore it is evident that modern professional social welfare is more in sympathy with a broad social orientation, similar to a Millsian 'Sociological Imagination'. Many writers of the last decade were pessimistic that increasing professionalization will make social workers move in the direction of becoming technicians rather than social change agents. In fact, increasing endeavours in professionalization in other areas such as medicine and law, have resulted in demands for higher social status, higher incomes, etc., and an aloofness from structural concerns that many social work writers predicted a similar de-emphasis in the social reform tradition in social work.[16] Weinberger, writing more than a decade later, says that these misapprehensions have turned out to be premature.[17]

There can be no choice between serving private troubles and dealing with public issues, according to Mills. He says, "It is the task of the liberal institution, as of the liberally educated man, continually to translate troubles into issues and issues into the terms of their human meaning for the individual".[18] Seen in

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16. Herbert Bisno, "How Social Will Social Work Be?" *Social Work*, 1,1 (April, 1956): pp. 12-18. Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession", *Social Work*, 2,3 (July 1957), pp. 45-55.

17. Weinberger, *Perspectives on Social Welfare*, p. 15.

18. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 39.

this light every agency becomes an arena for the conversion of private troubles into public issues. The agency has to provide a service that is of consequence to both individuals and society. The problems that beset individuals in modern society cannot be completely resolved by either peer groups or familial mutual aid systems. They demand a vast volume of resources and an institutional structure that can guarantee continuity and stability.

There is a wealth of sociological evidence to support the growth of welfare services. Social welfare today is demonstrably guided by the need to help clients who seem to deviate from the value system of capitalist society. Obviously we can see that the greatest pressure towards deviance is on the lowest status occupational groups--groups that comprise more than three quarters of the population--in any industrial society. The American sociological schools led by the Chicago sociologists who espoused the theory of social disorganization and the anomie theorists led by Merton have showed that the lowest socioeconomic classes suffered the highest rates of mental illness, crime, neurosis, and a host of other societal ills. Though these statistics and theories have been contested as to their adequacy of causation, none can deny the fact that any adverse effects of economic growth are usually felt more by the poor and other powerless minorities.[19] And it so happens that these groups

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19. For a very good discussion on the 'cycle of deprivation', see Bill Jordon, *Poor Parents: Social Policy and the "Cycle of Deprivation"*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

--the worst off sector--in society, require the mediation of official social agencies to prevent a worsening of the situation and indirectly lending further support to the theories that claim a straight forward correlation between all forms of deviance and lower socioeconomic status.

As a consequence, enormous increases in health, education, and welfare services, borne primarily by public funds dispensed in large bureaucracies, are commonplace in recent years. Both Federal and State legislation regarding mental health, poverty, unemployment, delinquency, and in the general areas of quality of life, have created organizations whose resources far outweigh the private charity and welfare of a few decades ago. As Vinter remarks:

> "New services constantly emerge, and existing agencies continue to expand. Aid and succor once available only from kin, friend, or neighbour are now routinely 'administered' according to 'policies and procedures' as a part of a 'coordinated plan' (with appropriate 'recording and review')."[20]

Gunnar Myrdal points out in, *Beyond the Welfare State*, how the industrialized countries of the West began their separate interventions into the economy in response to discrete crises or problems. There was no overall plan or strategy. The growth in the number and scope of acts of intervention created in an indirect way the need to see them in some kind of relationship to

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20. Vinter, "The Social Structure of Service", p. 263.

one another. This pragmatic and piecemeal determination of goals by the political process has created new problems and needs, addressed to by many governmental officials. Myrdal points out that even the nascent interorganizational service systems have been plagued by a lack of goal consensus, lack of unifying purposes and, furthermore, an unequal power distribution. The result is an overlapping system, waste of public and private resources, administrative confusion, and an uncoordinated delivery system.[21]

Most governmental officials tend to converge upon these problematic elements, as exemplified by their concern with functional planning. In organizing services according to the functions to be carried out rather than populations served, the questions they ask have a manifest objective of merger, regrouping, or abandoning certain tasks. The organizational and political problems that eventuate in such a process are very real. However, among many who are knowledgeable about these matters, there is also a kind of reluctance to encourage comprehensive or functional planning, which grows out of a concern with bureaucracy.

The fear of bureaucracy has been reinforced by studies into large scale complex organizations.[22] The professionalization of

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21. Gunnar Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 63.

22. One only has to consider the impact that Michels' determinism had on the attitude of people towards the workings of organizations. "Who says organization, say Oligarchy", was his aphoristic expression. See Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, (New York; Collier Books, 1962).

organizations by which is meant that decisions are made by experts qualified in specialized fields of competence enhances not only the internal efficiency of organizations, but also their external power. Administrative decisions, especially of senior personnel, entail the exercise of much power. This does not mean that a sinister power elite conspires to subdue the rest. What produces the fundamental problem in modern society is the unplanned nature of the structure of organizations and the systems of interrelated organizations, including the fact that these organizations command the unstinted loyalties of many capable men who often quite selflessly discharge their responsibilities in the interests of organizations that they serve.

It has become evident that "there are inherent limits to what can be accomplished by large hierarchical organizations".[23] Perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that beyond a certain point increase in the scale of organization results in a breakdown of communication, in a lack of flexibility, in bureaucratic stagnation and insensitivity. Large scale organizations seem to produce a cold formalism that runs counter to the public demands for substantive justice. All these point towards the need for mature, serious concern with the question of interorganizational behaviour before there is any consideration of comprehensive

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23. James Q. Wilson, "The Bureaucracy Problem", *The Public Interest*, 6 (1967): pp. 3-9

'social engineering'. The processes of interorganizational behaviour are, as yet, incompletely understood and described, with little experience accumulated. Yet it is an expanding and growing activity, mandated by complexity, competition, resource limitations, and a desire to protect precious but also disparate values.

1.4 Practitioners and Interorganizational Coordination

As social service organizations are proliferating in size and their roles are expanding so the subject of interorganizational relationships is becoming increasingly important to practitioners in the field of social welfare.[24] Because social welfare problems are complex and interrelated, and resource allocation a continuing difficulty, welfare organizations are becoming more sensitive to other agencies and services within their environments. Administrators are aware that to maintain and increase organizational effectiveness they must combine their efforts. Many believe that

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24. It is only recently that sociologists have begun to study the area of interorganizational relationships. In 1959 Etzioni specified in a pessimistic note, that although sociologists have devoted considerable attention to the study of formal organizations, their chief focus has been on patterns within rather than between organizations. Also see Amitai Etzioni, "Organizations and Society: Three Dimensions of Recent Studies". Paper presented to the annual meeting of Eastern Sociological Society, (April 11-12), 1959, New York, cited in *Readings in Community Organization Practice*, eds. Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 163.

it is only by such concerted efforts that the demands made by clients and constraints placed by funding bodies can be met. The kind of interdependence sought may be sharing of personnel, knowledge, equipment and other facilities. Not only with those organizations that provide inputs into the focal organizations that links have to be built but also with those for which outputs are geared. The ease with which one's products are marketed becomes the means through which some agencies evaluate their success.[25] The area of interorganizational relationships, properly handled, becomes a major strategy in optimal utilization of available limited resources in the community.

Kahn pointed out that even under narrow definitions, "Social Welfare" covers such diverse fields as public assistance, child welfare, family services, services for the deliquents, programmes for the aged, and so on.[26] Outside the United States, education and health services are usually included. The boundaries of a service or a field of practice, as it is usually called, are the product of historical circumstances, vested interest, professional assessment and a host of other factors, both rational and irrational. Changes in either one or a combination of those factors can generate a redefinition of boundaries. In an earlier

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25. Sol Levine, Paul E. White, and Benjamin D. Paul, "Community Interorganizational Problems in Providing Medical Care and Social Services", *American Journal of Public Health*, 58 (1963): pp. 1183-95.

26. Alfred J. Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 8

work Kahn concluded that one of the reasons for failure of agencies and organizations serving children in trouble was that services of diverse agencies which concurrently affect a given case sequentially, are not meshed.[27] In such circumstances coordination of measures of intervention implies a reconsideration of services for the purpose of examining how they combine to promote the welfare of the total community.

Patterns of interorganizational behaviour are important also from the perspective of the clients who have to learn how to use organizational resources to their advantage. In the intricate maze of social services delivery the characteristic nature of the populations serviced is altering; their numbers are increasing, proportions of young people to old are shifting. The trend towards client or consumer participation in the decision making process is on the increase. Service recipients are becoming increasingly organized, vocal, and demanding. Social services are viewed not as privileges but rather as rights. The demand for an equitable distribution of service, and the explicit recognition of the debilitating effects of the agency structure has led to advocacy towards a deliberate modification of agency patterns to resolve the dilemmas

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27. Alfred J. Kahn, *Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble*, (New York: Columbia Press, 1963).

encountered; for example, they exhort, "treat the illness that the person has, rather than the person who has the illness".[28]

Innovations in certain agency settings such as therapeutic milieux in mental hospitals, cottage homes in children's residential services, half way houses in probation and parole units, open prisons in the adult correctional services are, in large part, a movement towards designing organizational arrangements so as to enhance their organizational effectiveness. The point to be noted is the conscious effort on the part of decision makers to re-examine every feature of the institutional structure, and the interrelations among staff and clients which are governed by it. Specific modifications envisioned in this approach are directed at minimizing the status differentials between higher professionals and lower echelon staff and consumers, reducing the powerlessness of the consumers and increasing

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28. Mark Lefton, "Client Characteristics and Structural Outcomes: Toward the Specification of Linkages", in *Organizations and Clients*, eds. William R. Rosengren and Mark Lefton (Colombus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), Ch. 2, pp. 17-36.

their participation in decision making.[29] The changes, proposed in the organizational structures with regard to referral, follow up, as well as treatment plans have elements of interorganizational relevance.

Certain social trends also draw attention to the need for facilitative arrangements between service organizations. The rising costs of equipment and training of personnel, as well as changing treatment technologies, continue to strain the social welfare system. In the field of mental health, new drug treatments enable more people to return to the community rather than to be institutionalized for long periods. Another very important process with momentous implications for the practice of welfare has

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29. This does not discount the general observation still prevalent, about people in trouble dealt with by helping professions, and to quote Merton, "Clients are normally in a state of anxiety when they do seek out a professional. Concerned with troubles important to them, clients cannot easily remain emotionally detached, for involvement in a contingent situation where the outcome matters is an excellent generator of hostility". Robert K. Merton and Elinor Barber, "Sociological Ambivalence", in *Sociological Thoery, Values, and Cultural Change*, ed. Edward A. Tiryakin (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 108. The welfare client shares with clients of other professions the basic situation of being in trouble and in need of help. There is a great deal of research on the process of public labelling imputation of stigma and other aspects of the dependency syndrome that produce alientión, disaffection, withdrawal, or overt rebellion. See, for a lucid analysis, Eliot Friedson, "Disability as Social Deviance, in *Sociology and Rehabilitation*, ed. Marvin B. Sussman, (Washington: American Sociological Association, 1965): pp. 71-79.

been the 'decarceration' movement in the area of social deviance.[30] There has developed in recent times an elaborate attempt to convince the policy makers of the value of community care and community corrections. Community treatment has been elevated to the pinnacle of therapeutic practice. Whatever the success or failure of the community treatment concept may be, at least in the short run the obvious result has been a rapid expansion of community alternatives and a broad band of community workers acting as liaising agents for both statutory and voluntary organizations.

A decisive factor in moving into community care has been the sociological understanding of the effect of institutions on their inmates. A spate of research (the most obvious being that of Goffman's study on Asylums) has demonstrated the baneful effect of institutions and the structural flaws that cast serious doubts on their therapeutic usefulness. The conclusion of all this has been the popularization of community care and in the nineteen-sixties a good part of social work treatment has moved into the community, at least in that direction. As a result, we see traditional social services being expanded and supplemented:

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30. A radical critic of the decarceration movement however, argues that behind this shift is the state's urgent need to cut the costs of social control and provide welfare on the cheap. See Andrew T. Scull, *Decarceration*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977).

foster homes for the mentally retarded, half way houses and sheltered workshops for released mental hospital patients, day care centres for children, drop-in-centres for youths, are examples of new agencies. To be effective these need to be fitted in with the traditional and existing organizations. Arrangements for the planning and utilization of all services demand interorganizational coordination.

1.5 Interorganizational Coordination as an Administrative Strategy

Attendant upon this vast expansion and experimentation, increased attention has been directed towards issues concerning effectiveness of welfare services. Assertions are made by many persons that the social service agencies at the community level are too numerous, too limited in function, and too isolated from one another. "It is not enough...simply to improve the ability of each provider of services to perform the particular role. We must also promote communication among the various providers, joint planning among them, coordinated program operations, and comprehensive systems of dealing with the needs of people".[31] These assertions raise a number of questions for the administrator.

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31. Elliot Richardson, *Responsibility and Responsiveness*, (Washington D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1972), p. 20.

If it is in fact the case that helping agencies are too limited in function and isolated from one another, then, "are communication, joint planning and coordinated programme operations--in other words, an interorganizational solution--the best approach to the problem?"[32] Despite the lack of adequate empirical support, the presumption that coordinative interorganizational relations are positively associated with organizational effectiveness is a compelling one. Social Welfare workers, along with many other professional groups, are quick to declare their faith in the generic, the whole man, and the comprehensive approach to service clients. "They recognize the complexity of social causation and the interdependencies among mental, physical and other environmental factors that influence the client's social functioning and his life chances".[33]

It has to be noted, however, that this tendency is counter to the thrust among a small group of professionals within welfare services itself towards specialization, and the development of technical skills along narrowly defined fields

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32. Stephen M. Davidson, "Planning and Coordination of Social Services in Multi-Organizational Contexts", *Social Service Review*, 50, 1 (March 1976); pp. 117-137. Davidson is correct in remarking that, although these assertions are shared by many in the social welfare field, they are not developed deductively from empirical data. Until appropriate evaluation criteria are established and relevant data accumulated the assertions are open to challenge. However, it is not the intention of this dissertation to substantiate the above claims. Perhaps it may be a rewarding task for the evaluative researcher.

33. Gilbert and Specht, *Social Welfare Policy*, p. 112.

of expertise.

In one sense coordination of services is advocated to mitigate the strains caused by such opposing tendencies.[34] Coordination is also proposed as a remedy for fragmentation for yet another reason. Although many organizational experts feel that the alternative to fragmentary structures is centralization of services, it is often the case that centralization tends to increase the organizational distance between clients and organizational decision makers.[35] Centralization, which Simon recommends as the most effective of all coordination principles, can lead to an internalization or perhaps a heightening of previously existing interorganizational strains. Moreover, the potential for conflict is sharpened, especially, when a variety of heretofore autonomous agencies find themselves in one organizational mould, yet having

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34. This problematic facet of service delivery has been amply documented and analyzed in the literature. See, for example, Richard A. Cloward and Frances F. Piven, "The Professional Bureaucracies: Benefit Systems as Influence Systems", in *The Role of Government in Promoting Social Change*, ed. Murray Silberman, (New York: Columbia University, School of Social Work, 1965), Irving Piliavin, "Restructuring the Provision of Social Service", *Social Work* 13:1, (January, 1968), pp. 34-41. Martin Rein, *Social Policy: Issues of Choice and Change*, (New York: Random House, 1970).

35. In the British situation Townsend sounds a note of caution about the newly created Local Authority Social Service Department creating a monopoly over certain services and the adverse effect that it can have on such aspects as social choice and accountability to service recipients. In Peter Townsend, et.al., *Fifth Social Service: A Critical Analysis of the Seebohm Report*, (London: Fabian Society, 1970).

different goals, technologies and even different problem orientations.[36]

There is also another drawback in the consolidation of services under one unitary framework. It can limit service accessibility to one organizational door. The 'single door' concept is self limiting in that it functions under one set of rules and regulations; service network intake happens to be controlled by a few gatekeepers bound by the same set of administrative procedures. Gilbert and Specht maintain that:

> "Operationally, the 'single door' could prove to be a mechanism to rationalize service delivery from the standpoint of case referral and continuity, and/or an impervious barrier to the local services network for those individuals and groups that, inadvertently or by design, do not fit the administrative criteria of eligibility for service."[37]

However, the advocates of coordination believe that the organizational resources to be shared are many. They include such elements as personnel, facilities, clients and information; funds equipment and organizational data, such as performance records and evaluation methods. Cooperative efforts include the joint usage of client referral systems, comprehensive treatment plans, case conferences, community relations and fund raising programmes,

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36. Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behaviour*, (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 238.

37. Gilbert and Specht, *Social Welfare Policy*, p. 113.

shared staff training programmes, and so on.

The inter-organizational field consists of three types of agencies. First, the functionally similar agencies, which have similar goals and manifest similar means to attain those goals. Second, the functionally complementary services that add up to comprehensive care; and third, the functionally supportive services such as supplying financial resources, expertise and community support. It is asserted by many authors that coordination is made effective by close collaboration of the above mentioned three types of agencies.[38]

1.6 Research into Welfare Organizations: Current Trends

The increasing organizational base of social welfare delivery has certainly been accompanied by an increase in the interests of researchers in that field. Research interests have shown a variety of approaches to the subject. Broadly viewed, these studies can be categorized into three different groups.

Firstly, there are those studies of organizations that look at the impact of the organization on the individual members; these

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38. For a comprehensive treatment of this issue, see Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning*, and Myrdal *Beyond the Welfare State*.

deal with the manifestations of bureaucratization at the role level. The major theme around which empirical work coalesced has been "The Professional Social Worker Versus the Bureaucracy". While acknowledging that the bureaucrat and the professional share certain characteristics, most empirical work has supported the contention that they operate within different systems of authority and control, respond to different reward systems, hold different attitudes towards service and make decisions on different criteria. By way of illustration only certain studies can be mentioned here.[39] Peabody in his study has concentrated on the various controls limiting the professional freedom of the workers. The intensity of the conflicts engendered by controls from above varied with the type of supervision, the length of experience, and the basic orientation of the worker whether professional or bureaucratic. His study concluded that even though the agency under study was not highly professionalized (in terms of goals and the constituent personnel), conflict produced by superiors' orders was frequent.[40]

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39. For an extensive comment and source material see, Peter M. Blau and Richard W. Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*, San Fransisco: Chandler, 1962).

40. Robert L. Peabody, *Organizational Authority* (New York: Atherton Press, 1964).

Peabody's findings were confirmed by another study conducted within a setting of professionally trained social case workers in voluntary social casework agencies with high professional standards.[41] This study, by Billingsley, assumed that the social worker was involved and must cope with conflicting expectations of four sub-systems: client needs, professional standards, agency policies, and community expectations. It was found that workers in the two agencies studied, resolved the conflicting expectations in favour of agency policy. Blau's research conducted in a public welfare agency explored the consequences of bureaucratic constraints for worker's orientations toward recipients of public assistance. In another study by Blau and Scott it was found that the helping professions' categorization of clients according to predetermined bureaucratic rules, interfered with effective service.[42]

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41. Andrew Billingsley, "Bureaucratic and Professional Orientation Patterns in Social Casework", *Social Service Review*, 38 (December 1964), pp. 400-407.

42. Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1955). Also see Blau and Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*, p. 163. These studies in the field of social work organizations are similar in their approach to the studies analyzing the effects of different styles of supervision in industry. See for example, Robert L. Kahn and Daniel Katz, "Leadership Practices in Relation to Productivity and Morale", in *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, eds., Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (New York: Row Peterson and Co., 1953), pp. 612-618.

Other sociologists have seen the implicit and explicit conflicts that exist between the profession of social work and the philosophy and practice of bureaucratic welfare organization as embedded in the relationship between the profession and bureaucratic structure. Nina Toren remarks:

> "This is not surprising in view of the fact that these two patterns of activity and organization are becoming increasingly interwoven".[42]

The dominant theme of this aspect in the literature is the contradictions and conflicts between bureaucratic organizations and professions rather than their points of convergence, the substantive content of social work practice being the professional control as exercised from within by an internal code of ethics, a knowledge base gathered by arduous training and peer group pressures, as against bureaucratic authority which emanates from a formal hierarchical position.[44]

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43. Nina Toren, *Social Work, The Case of a Semi Profession*, (London: Sage Publications, 1972), p. 50.

44. Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone", *American Journal of Sociology*, 70,2 (September, 1964), pp. 137-158. W. Richard Scott, "Professionals in Bureaucracies: Areas of Conflict", in *Professionalization*, eds., H. M. Vollmer and D. L. Mills, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 265. Here he identified four areas of conflict: a) The professional's resistance to bureaucratic rules; b) His rejection of bureaucratic standards; c) Resistance to supervision; d) Professionals' conditional loyalty to the bureaucracy.

At this point, the general comment has been an acceptance of the position and lament over the relative powerlessness of the social worker in the agency. Because bureaucracies do not change easily there has been a lot of descriptive comment on the pernicious institutional resources which are abrasive and harmful to the clients as well as the professional employee. The emotional and physical fatigue caused by the large caseloads and structural constraints have been thoroughly documented.[45] As Dahrendorf pointed out, "in bureaucratic organizations all employees, regardless of their hierarchical status are essentially...on the same side of the fence that divides the positions of dominance from those of subjection."[46] The professional social worker is prevented from offering the service he would otherwise be able to provide unfettered by the constraints without coming into conflict with the agency. The defeatism and cynicism in the social work literature on organizations connote more than poor morale; they are part of a system of beliefs that another author described as the "institutionalization of hypocrisy".[47]

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45. Harry Wasserman, "The Professional Social Worker in a Bureaucracy", *Social Work* 13:1 (January 1971), pp. 89-95.

46. Ralph Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 296.

47. See Kenneth Kenniston, "Youth, Change, and Violence", *American Scholar* 37:2 (Spring 1968), p. 239. In the context of total society institutionalization of hypocrisy occurs when change is slow and institutions are powerful and unchanging.

Other variables that are related to organizational functions, such as proportion between sexes,[48] the social class background of personnel,[49] and heteronomy of semi-professionalism[50] have also attracted the attention of researchers.

The second direction taken by research into organizational aspects of social welfare has been the identification of the key characteristics of welfare organizations. In the main these attempts have been to point out the problems facing such organizations, setting them apart from other types of formal organizations. Certain distinctive attributes of welfare organizations can be abstracted from these studies; some of these attitudes are reviewed briefly in the following pages because of their relevance to this research.

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48. Richard L. Simpson and J. H. Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions", in *The Semi-Professions and their Organization*, ed., Amitai Etzioni (New York, The Free Press, 1969).

49. Alfred Kadushin, "Prestige of Social Work Facts and Factors", *Social Work*, 3,(April, 1958), pp. 37-43.

50. See Richard W. Scott, "Reaction to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10,(June, 1965), pp. 65-81. The term heteronomy comes from Weber; "A corporate group may either be autonomous or heteronomous. Autonomy means that the order governing the group has been established by its own members on their own authority....In the case of heteronomy, it has been imposed by an outside agency". Max Weber, *The Theory of Social And Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, and ed. Talcott Parsons, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 148.

We locate those key attributes as (a) value laden nature of the raw material worked upon (b) ideological character of goals, (c) indeterminate technology, (d) importance of staff-client relations, and (e) nonexistence of valid measures of effectiveness.

a/ In contrast to other organizations, the raw material to be worked upon in welfare organizations is not value neutral.[51] Goffman's insights into "total organizations" succintly showed how the decisions made by the organization in relation to its clients affected the moral identity of the clients.[52] Organizations dealing with human material must also develop mechanisms to deal with the self activating properties of clients to ensure that the organization's activities are not rendered ineffective by the former. These mechanisms are classified by Etzioni as forming the basis of a compliance system whose basis of power may be coercive, utilitarian or normative, or any mixture of the three. The choice of the particular congruent compliance system will be a function of

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51. In this dissertation welfare organizations mean those organizations whose primary function is to mould, remould, repair and adjust the social and psychological attributes of a person in order to enhance his social well being. Some theorists refer to them as "human service" or "service" organizations to differentiate them from other bureaucracies. A good conceptual view of "human service" organizations is provided in *Human Service Organizations*, eds., Yaheskel Hasenfeld and Richard A. English (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1974), Ch. 1.

52. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

the larger social milieu and of the moral assessment system of the organization.[53] Some of the problematic issues of welfare organizations can be attributed to the value laden nature of the property that it works with.

b/ In welfare organizations the definition of goals is always problematic because their goals are defined in relation to values, norms, and standards such that they become ideological in nature. Goals of organizations normally are defined in relation to a task environment but this simple task becomes problematic in welfare when its subjects are defined as malfunctioning individuals. This is because there is no accepted notion of 'total normalcy' in society. The result is often an attempt to broaden the scope of the organization with regard to the biographical space of the client. For example, in attempting to define the goals, the juvenile court encounters diverse interest groups which have an influence on its domain and mandate.[54] In trying to encompass such a diverse task environment the court may define goals in abstract and intangible terms and such

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53. Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961).

54. Robert D. Vinter and Rosemary C. Sarri, "The Juvenile Court: Organization and Decision-Making", in *Juvenile Court Hearing Officers Training Manual, Vol. II* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Institute of Continuing Legal Education, 1966), pp. 173-320.

definition may, in turn, create the likelihood of goal displacement and thereby decrease internal coherence and consistency.[55] Related to the above, these organizations must, in addition, cope with the personal goals of the clients, which may deviate markedly from the goals of the organization.[56] The ambiguity surrounding goals in welfare is a peculiarity that marks them off from other organizations.

c/ The technology of welfare organizations is predominantly indeterminate. This is the function of the lack of consensus on the desired outcome for the clients, particularly as it relates to the large variations in the attributes of the clients.[57]

d/ Staff-client relations comprise the core activity of the organization. The duration of the relations, the frequency with which relations occur, the intensity of interaction, the scope and range of client attributes it takes care of, and the

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55. K. W. Warner and A. E. Havens, "Goal Displacement and Intangibility of Organizational Goals", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12 (March 1968), pp. 539-55.

56. Stanton Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings", in *Socialization After Childhood*, eds., Orville G. Brim, Jnr., and S. Wheeler, (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 51-116. The organizations that have little control over their intake develop "cooling out" mechanisms to reject those clients who don't accept them, leading to a reduction in the legitimation of the organization and its domain of activity.

57. See, T. J. Sheff, *Being Mentally Ill*, (Chicago: Aldine, 1968).

number of participants in the relations, are important constituents in the relations between staff and clients.

Welfare organizations are therefore frequently referred to as:

> "front line organizations, in the sense that much of the action that occurs between staff and clients is removed from the control and support systems of the organization; and the latter are highly dependent on the feedback from the staff at the front.[58]

For this reason these organizations rely heavily on professionals who are supposed to embody a commitment to the service ideal which is also the organizational mandate.[59]

e/ Service organizations lack reliable and valid measures of effectiveness. Service organizations tend to develop extrinsic rather than intrinsic measures of effectiveness. These are measures of means or programme effort rather than the ends as a measure of success. For example, probation success tends to be viewed in terms of the number of manpower hours spent with the client, or else it could also be measured in terms of costs per client. Such extrinsic measures cannot give unambiguous and

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58. D. Smith, "Front-Line Organizations of the State Mental Hospital", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10, (December 1965), pp. 381-99.

59. For the central qualities of professions, see W. J. Goode "The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization", in *The Semi-Professions*, pp. 266-313.

specific indicators of organizational effectiveness.[60] Many such measures can be devised which are little related to the overall objectives of an organization. One can even count the number of professionals in a welfare agency as an indicator of effectiveness.

The category of research dealing with the attributes and problems facing service organizations discussed in the above section falls within the area of intraorganizational analysis. The problems and issues discussed relate heavily to the structural barriers preventing the attainment of rational norms in a type of formal organization. These attributes indicate that the tools of analysis that are appropriate to the routine bureaucracies may not lend themselves easily to the study of welfare service organizations.

The third category of research is directly concerned with the understanding of interorganizational relationships. Even in the general field of organizational theory many writers have remarked that "while there is an extensive literature on intra-organizational relationships, work on interorganizational relations has been, and still is, largely undeveloped".[61] The increasing

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60. Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Irwin Epstein, *Social Programme Evaluation*, (Illinois: Peacock Publishers, 1971).

61. Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Phillip R. Kunz, eds., *Complex Organizations and their Environments*, (Iowa: W. C. Brown Company, 1972), p. 305.

development of formalized relations between organizations in the field of welfare has prompted some attention. Formalized relations include coordinating bodies, hospital federations, federations of health and welfare departments, etc. However, the major segment of this activity is informal and voluntary, and is still not properly analyzed. The growing recognition of their importance, at least, is a reflection of the changing orientation: a change from a clinical to a social problem orientation. It is a recognition of the complexity of problems and of the need to relate organizational resources to reinforce mutual objectives. It is worth mentioning here that it is useful to study coordinating relationships in order to understand the conditions that lead to the emergence of relationships between organizations, to become sensitive to the consequences of these relationships, to intraorganizational structures, processes and clientele, and to become aware of the forces of linkages which effectively join organizations to each other. The primary aim of this thesis is therefore to advance a theoretical framework to understand the complexities in that interorganizational field of social welfare practice.

1.7 Summary

In this chapter we have introduced the field of social welfare as an emerging institution, with mutual support as its core function. Recognition of the institution of social welfare as

a front-line function has caused major changes in the size and scope of social welfare services. Consequently increased attention is being directed towards issues such as the organizational structures, delivery of social welfare services, and the effectiveness of such systems. This latter has to do with the relationships between the providers of service and the users of services on the one hand, and on the other, the exchanges between the suppliers themselves.

It has been demonstrated that the analysis of interorganizational coordination is a complex but productive exercise. Despite the theoretical and practical importance of coordinating relationships in the area of social welfare little systematic research has been done. This is particularly puzzling when one realizes that coordination has been pursued as an active policy goal. The importance of research into the organizations that deliver human services is significant in our society when social welfare as an institution plays a major role in its direction and destiny. From a theoretical angle, we also assume that much of the existing research done into normal bureaucratic type organizations has certain limitations to the understanding of human service organizations. The contention here is that if the human service organization seems 'deviant' in the view of the traditional view of organization then there is added utility in its study for the critical evaluation of the conventional views on organizations.

The next objective is to examine the available literature on interorganizational relationships and combine them with inferences from well formulated organizational concepts in order to obtain a plausible theoretical framework to understand exchanges between organizations in the field of social welfare.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITION OF TERMS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE PERTAINING TO INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an ambitious attempt to achieve two primary objectives. Whilst reviewing the sociological literature relating to issues of coordination, it also aims as a further objective to identify crucial variables to build a theoretical framework for the systematic understanding and explanation of the phenomenon. Coordination is defined so as to include those facilitative processes between organizations having similar or complementary goals. In keeping with conventional attempts to study organizations we elucidate three types of properties, namely, *analytic* (character of individual members), *structural* (characteristics of organizational frameworks within which individuals relate to each other), and *global* (characteristics of larger systems--organizations and their environments) to facilitate our analysis. In doing so we obviate the dangers of sociological reductionism. The analytic properties cover professional orientations, ideologies, and power of individual employees; structural properties include examination of organizational goals, resources, client careers, age of organization and the internal structure and diversity. The

sociological perspective that explains these two types of properties is structural functionalism and it is used not without regard to its limitations of explanatory potential. To explain global properties the study combines both exchange theory and systems theory for they are an improvement on the structural functional perspective. Under global properties the chapter highlights the structure of the interorganizational system, its processes, role of individual units, and links between units of the system. Table 2-1 further clarifies the organization of material in Chapter 2.

2.2 Definition of Interorganizational Coordination

It is incumbent upon any researcher to define his/her terms and clarify the concepts, and it is done so with the explicit understanding that all definitions can only be approximations to 'real phenomena'. We must remember simply that they are 'constructs of convenience', as George Lundberg calls them, and to some degree empirically arbitrary.[1] Unlike the natural sciences in the social sciences, especially, are quite problematic for concepts, qualities, and other tangibles to be defined adequately for measurement purposes.

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1. George A. Lundburg, *Social Research*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 93-96.

TABLE 2-1

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTER 2

	Perspectives Utilized and the Breakdown of Elements		
Nature of Property	Structural Functionalism	Exchange Theory	Systems Theory
Analytic 2.5*	2.5a Professional Orientation of Workers 2.5b Ideology of the Welfare Worker 2.5c Informal Power of Lower Participants 2.5d Orientations of Executive Cadre		
Structural 2.6	2.6a Organizational Goals 2.6b Resources 2.6c Client Careers 2.6d Age of organization 2.6e Internal Structure and Diversity		
Global 2.8 and 2.9		2.8a The Principle of Social Scarcity 2.8b The Principle of Reciprocity 2.8c Exploitation and Power 2.8d Social Exchange and Social Solidarity	2.9a Theoretical Orientation 2.9b Structure of the Interorganizational System 2.9c Process 2.9d Location and Role of Units vis-a-vis Other Units 2.9e Interorganizational Linkage Mechanisms

* The numbers in the table indicate the numbers of the appropriate headings in the body of the Chapter.

Generally speaking, coordination may occur through the intervention of an actor with superior authority. While it may be true of coordination within an organization, such central authority is not usually present in many interorganizational contexts, and the usage here is to the process that Lindblom described as 'mutual adjustment'. Lindblom noted several methods of mutual adjustment "or specific forms of informal mutual influences in the play of power among proximate policy makers". He says, negotiation, the first type, occurs "when two or more policy makers enter into explicit negotiations with each other in order to try and reach an explicit basis for cooperation".[2] Other methods include creating and discharging obligations, indirect mutual adjustment through third persons, and adaptive adjustment. In all these types of coordination, the essence of which imply a kind of wheeling and dealing, as Lindblom calls them, is an ultimate agreement on some matter of mutual concern, which involves direct contact between the parties.

Interorganizational coordination, in fact, is only one part of the several forms of interorganizational relationships, as is shown in Figure 2.1.

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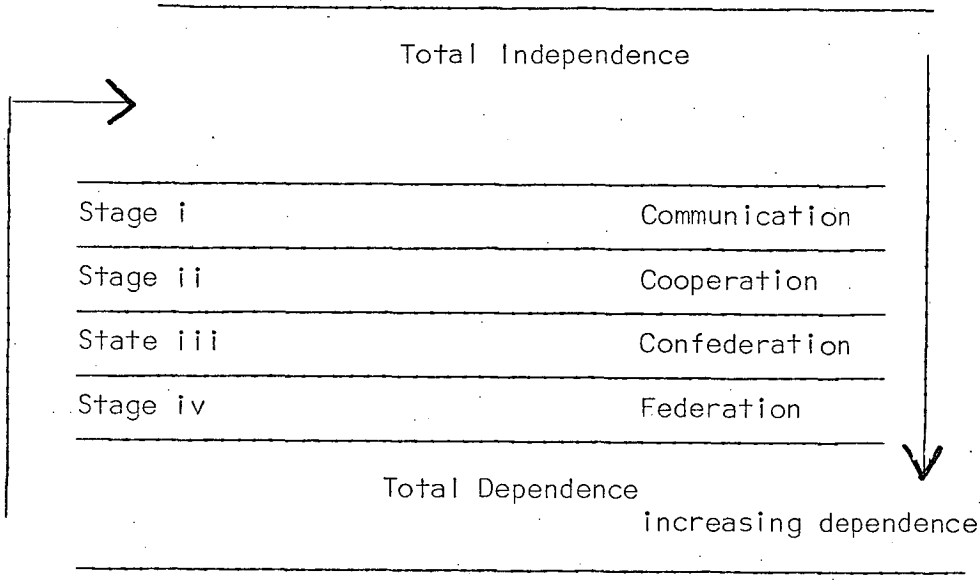
2. Charles E. Lindblom, *The Policy Making Process*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 95, Ch. II, et. passim.

FIGURE 2-1

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS



When two organizations are communicating, they are doing no more than sharing information, ideas and feelings about their shared world. When communication leads to working together on small projects, they may be said to be cooperating. The characteristic feature of this stage is the vagueness of the goals to be accomplished. The arrangements for cooperations are mainly at an informal level. When the arrangements become more formalized and the tasks and goals clearly defined, the interorganizational relationship

can be called confederation. The relationships are still loose in that no formal sanctions exist to enforce participation in the joint activity. When organizations advance to the stage wherein goals and tasks can be precisely defined and a formal structure to carry out the operation can be formed, then a federation exists. The creation of a formal structure necessarily involves a ceding of some degree of autonomy in decision making for each organization involved. The final type of interorganizational relationship exists where the structure becomes formalized to the point that the original organizations lose their separate identities as independent organizations, at least regarding the domains in which cooperation existed. Then they may merge to form a new organization. When a newly formed organization is in a position to communicate with the organizations in the environment the cycle of interorganizational relationships occurs in the aforesaid manner.[3]

As shown in Figure 2-1, the boundaries between the types of interorganizational relationships are blurred. For example, it is impossible to determine when a relationship ceases being cooperative and becomes a federation. For the purpose of this study, the concept of interorganizational coordination will cover the areas of

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3. Davidson, "Planning and Coordination of Social Services in Multi-Organizational Contexts", p. 119.

communication, cooperation, and confederation. Though federation leaves a certain amount of sovereignty to the individual organization, thereby allowing interorganizational relationships to occur, this is a rarity in the field of welfare. The area of merger does not enter into the conceptual category of interorganizational coordination as the individual organizations lose their identity thus transforming all interorganizational relations into intra-organizational relations post-factum. In summary, therefore, interorg-anizational coordination, as used in this text, would mean those facilitative processes of interorganizational relationships between units having similar or complementary goals. These behaviours are deliberate, both direct and indirect, formal or informal, and can occur between statutory, semi statutory, or voluntary organizations. Furthermore, it will be apparent to the student of interorganizational relationships that the bulk of research hitherto done on coordination has been along the said dimensions of facilitative interdependence. At a micro sociological level the progression from one form of coordinative exchange to another entails a process of differentiation. By differentiation is meant that new and distinct forms of arrangements and structures occur for the carrying out of certain functions. As a sequel, certain of the norms governing conduct of members involved at each stage undergo change. Differentiation not only means a change in the activities of some previously established unit; it also means a possible loss of activities and moral authority binding

the performance of those activities.

The obvious benefit in working at interorganizational coordination in this manner lies in its implied reference to both an input as well as an output. The process described in Figure 2-1 begins when some kind of input deficit is felt with respect to goal attainment. There is an expectation of a service which for some reason is not satisfactorily performed; the recipient system is exerting pressure upon the organization; the quality and quantity of the service is made problematic.

It is necessary to explain the need for a movement from one stage to another. In social systems analysis Parsons failed to offer an explanation as to why a particular social system is thrown out of gear except by sheer postulation. In other words, he started with the assumption that it is thrown out of equilibrium as a fortuitious occurrence. A better explanation of the origin of progression is Gouldner's suggestion that social systems have an inherent tendency toward declining marginal utility in gratifications; and many more minor reasons for the disturbance in the equilibrium.[4]

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4. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, (Glencoe Ill.: The Free Press, 1951) and also see his "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change", *Rural Sociology*, 26, 219-39. Gouldner's criticism and suggested revisions are given in his *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, (London: Heinemann, 1977), pp. 357-370.

While Gouldner's claim may be true of social systems generally, in the welfare area systems are less likely to be thrown out of balance by the declining marginal utility of gratifications. The groups that form the recipient subsystem have little power to demand remedial or gapless services. Selective support for moral norms that are advantageous to them carry little impetus for change. These are the consequences of a very significant factor, namely the power difference which enables the stronger party--the organization--to enforce its own moral expectations and continue a kind of normalized repression.[5] Successful differentiation in many instances of welfare is a likely resultant of the development and popularization of its dominant values--the values of the profession. As it is, it will be fair to surmise that the "highest order component of its structure"[6] in welfare sector

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5. It is generally understood that an organization's economy and power are more stable and durable than an individual's economy and power. This can be countered only by collectivized membership such as the labour movement and student movements. A discussion related to this point is found in Stanton Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings", in *Socialization After Childhood*, pp. 51-116. This does not occur in welfare organizations for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that clients are socially powerless to increase their value without the welfare organization itself.

6. The term is from Parsons' description of the social system. Parsons and many of his contemporary functionalists implied that the values did not change as part of the process of differentiation but many sociologists would question such an assertion.

is the values and ideals of the social work profession. The input deficiencies in welfare have in many instances been pointed out by those who have power in providing the service and less by those receiving the service. To conceptualize coordination attempts in this way helps to understand the progression from one step to the next.

2.3 Directions in Previous Studies

Current sociological research in this area is rather thin. Some sociological classics of the past such as Durkheim's discussion of organic solidarity and Marx's discussion of class formulated general rules of interorganizational analysis, if seen rather broadly.[7] Litwak and Hylton define interorganizational relationships as those occuring between formal organizations when they are partly interdependent; when they are aware of their interdependence; and when exchange can be defined in standardized units of action.[8] In such situations third party coordinating formal agencies are likely to develop and continue in existence.

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7. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*. In the Marxian version of class conflict an analysis of inter-organizational systems can be seen if the concept of organization is used in the broadest sense.

8. Eugene Litwak and Lydia F. Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Coordinating Agencies", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 6 (March, 1962), pp. 395-420.

Levine and White conceive of interorganizational relationships as involving direct or indirect exchanges based on voluntaristic sentiments. They define organizational exchange as "any voluntary activity between two organizations which has consequences, actual or anticipated, for the realization of their respective goals or objectives".[9] The interdependence is contingent upon three related factors:

1. The accessibility of each organization to necessary elements from outside the system;
2. The objectives of the organization and particular functions to which it allocates the elements it controls; and
3. The degree to which domain consensus exists among the various organizations.

Another writer distinguishes between 'managed' coordination and 'unmanaged' coordination. The former is viewed as a planned activity and the latter as unplanned or unintended.[10] In all these studies there is the implied assertion that coordination is both a

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9. Sol Levine and Paul E. White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 5, (March 1961), pp. 583-601.

10. Basil J. Mott, "Coordination and Interorganizational Research in Health", in *Interorganizational Research in Health*, eds, Paul E. White and George J. Vlasak, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1971), pp. 159-169.

state and a process.[11]

There are authors who attempt to enumerate a taxonomy of interorganizational relationships. Johns and de Marche have noted five levels of interaction: leaders interacting with other leaders; exchange of information; specific consultations with representatives of other agencies; planned interaction; and definite operating responsibilities with other agencies.[12] Black and Case have identified three types: integration (transfer of function); coordination (third parties supervising interaction); and cooperation (formal cooperation on joint programmes).[13] Lehman has described three types and two subtypes: interorganizational feudalism in which integration of units is not formally organized; mediated interorganizational configurations in which formal units exist to coordinate; and guided interorganizational configurations where joint decision making exists for the system as a whole.[14]

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11. Warren advocates four levels to investigate interorganizational relationships in order to capture it both as a state and process. See Roland L. Warren, *Truth, Love, and Social Change*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), pp. 199-212.

12. Ray E. Johns and David de Marche, *Community Organization and Agency Responsibility*, (New York: Association Press, 1951).

13. Bertram J. Black and Harold M. Case, "Inter-Agency Cooperation in Rehabilitation and Mental Health", *Social Service Review*, 37, (March, 1963), pp. 26-32.

14. Edward Lehman, *Control, Coordination, and Crisis: Inter-Organizational Relations in the Health Field* (N.Y.: New York University and the Centre for Policy Research Inc., 1973).

The intensity of interaction has attracted the attention of certain writers. Starkweather[15] describes situations of high intensive interactions leading ultimately to merger activities, whereas Selznick[16] has described a situation where subtle types of interaction lead to processes such as cooption. Stringer has elaborated the approach taken by Starkweather and discerns twelve different types of such formalized agreements: legislation, exercise of statutory powers, coalition formation, contractual agreements, vertical integration, merger, cooptation, clique formation, revision of current reward-penalty systems, publication of guidelines, and advice or exhortations.[17] Some sociologists of organizational research have tried to locate the key organizational variables that play a part in interorganizational relationships behaviour. For example, Perlmutter and Rosengren note the crucial importance of the age of organization and hypothesize that interorganizational relationships vary according to the age of an

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15. David Starkweather, "Health Facility Merger and Integration: A Typology and Some Hypotheses", in *Interorganizational Research in Health*, pp. 4-44.

16. Philip Selznick, "Cooptation: A Mechanism for Organizational Stability", in *Reader in Bureaucracy*, ed., Robert K. Merton, et. al., (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 135-139.

17. J. Stringer, "Operational Research for Multi-Organizations" *Operational Research Quarterly*, 18, (1967), pp. 105-120.

organization.[18] Lefton and Rosengren have studied the consequences of laterality (interests in the client biography) and longitudinality (short term or long term interest in the client's welfare) on the type of collaborative relations.[19]

In summary, therefore, it is obvious that there is no single accepted framework to guide the discussion of research into interorganizational coordination. Nor is there any consensus among organizational theorists as to what variables seem significant in analysis. The net result is that one is left to define one's own arbitrary framework in order to present the literature in a somewhat coherent manner. In this study, therefore, an improved framework utilizing structural-functionalism, exchange theory, and the systems theory of analysis is proposed for the review of literature on organizational coordination. The framework emphasizes the role behaviour of organization employees, the distinctive attributes of an organization as an identifiable social structure, and the interdependence of the

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18. Felice Perlmutter, "A Theoretical Model of Social Agency Development", *Social Casework*, 50 (1969), pp. 470-479; and William R. Rosengren, "The Careers of Clients and Organizations", in *Organizations and Clients*, pp. 117-136.

19. Mark Lefton and William R. Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions", *American Sociological Review*, 31, (December 1966), pp. 802-810.

organization with the surrounding environment. The organizational structure will be discussed under relevant key variables as they impinge on interorganizational exchanges. The interdependence will capture the exchange process for scarce and valued resources, that is, bargaining position in the environment.

2.4. Structural Functional Analysis and Interorganizational Coordination*

This approach to social welfare organizations can be characterized as 'normative' as the investigator reports what the goals of the organization are, or should be, as dictated by the logical consistency of his theory about the relationships among the parts of the system. Given the postulates of functional

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* In using the functionalist method in Sociology, we are not unaware of the conservative character that is attributed to it. It can be argued, however, that certain critical elements of the functional theory will persist in sociological analyses of diverse kinds. One should bear in mind that functionalism has faltered mainly in the discussions of power, conflict, property, and social change. In the analysis of organizational behaviour it has the potential to provide a systematic awareness of the social processes that a so called radical sociology would neglect. After all we should not forget that it was Weber who provided a thorough going analysis of the Bureaucracy which a Marxian sociologist could regard merely as a epiphenomenon that would automatically be overcome with Socialism. The task therefore is not to denounce functionalist method completely but to use its potentialities to the maximum.

analysis about the nature of organizations and their inter-connectedness with the larger network extending to the total social structure, one can derive the characteristics and their functions within one organization or a class of organizations. This is evident in the analysis of Talcott Parsons, one of the outspoken advocates of functional analysis.[20] To deal with his theory in all its many complexities would require more than a couple of chapters: what is proposed here is to outline only the main component of his analysis.

The point of departure for Parsons' studies on complex organizations is the cultural-institutional level of analysis. He remarks that:

> "The main point of reference for analyzing the structure of any social system is its value pattern. This defines the basic orientation of the system (in the present case, the organization) to the situtation in which it operates; hence, it guides the activities of participant individuals".[21]

To Parsons the raison d'etre of complex organizations is the benefit to society to which they belong, and that society is the ultimate frame of reference. It is conceded that the organization

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20. Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations", *Administrative Science Quarterly* I and 2, (1956), pp. 63-85; 225-239. Also see idem, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*, (Chicago: Free Press, 1960), pp. 16-96.

21. Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations", p. 67.

as a system must provide some important output into society in order to receive some vital input. Parsons combines the properties of the individuals and the organization with the properties of the environment within the structural functional perspective. The weakness of such a combined perspective is its tendency to disregard the micro-properties of individual members and even the properties of the organization as either trivial or non-problematic. As Gouldner's proposition of "functional autonomy" implies, organizations are capable of gearing the activities into relatively independent courses of action rather than orienting themselves necessarily toward the needs of society as the superordinate system.[22]

It is suggested here that a theoretical task for the moment is to work out a synthesis that would reconcile structural functionalism in both micro and macro perspectives. This is carried out by separating properties at three different levels of analysis. The three levels of analysis are:

1. Characteristics of organizational members as to how they affect interorganizational relationships, or analytic properties;

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22. Alvin W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis", in *Sociology Today*, ed., Robert K. Merton, et.al., (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p. 419.

2. Collective properties, in this case, organizational properties, and their relations with other organizational relationships, or structural properties;
3. Characteristics of the larger system--relations between the organization and its environment as a central ingredient in interorganizational relationship patterns, or in other words, global properties.

The above classification is based on the typology of properties which describes collectives as developed by Lazarsfeld and Menzel.[23] The three levels of analysis can be applied to any unit and its participants, or to any unit and its subunits. For the purpose of organizational analysis, the major interception would be that of seeing the organization as a collective and its participants as members.

> "'Analytic' properties of collectives are induced from information collected from or about members themselves; 'structural' properties are based on information concerning their relations and, 'global' properties are based on information, not on properties of members, but on collectives as such."[24]

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23. See Paul Lazarsfeld and Herbert Menzel, "On the Relation Between Individual and Collective Properties", in *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*, ed. Amitai Etzioni, (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1969), pp. 499-576. Also note that this classification corresponds with the one presented earlier by Cattell as population variables, structural variables and syntality variables, cited in *The Language of Social Research* eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenburg, (New York: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 291-321.

24. Etzioni, ed. *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*, p. 496.

The three types of properties, whilst helping a clear delineation of the operational variables, also have another added advantage. They bring out the importance of interrelationships among units as an 'emergent property' which is more than a mere summation of individual characteristics.[25]

At this point it is worth mentioning how the three perspectives in sociology, namely, structural functionalism, exchange theory, and systems theory are to be utilized in the discussion of the literature on coordination. It is not intended to go into a long discussion on the benefit or otherwise of the so-called approaches in sociology, for to do so will be a digression rather unwarranted. Together with Harold Fallding, we maintain that there is only one sociology and that is functionalist and all other traditions of thought are essentially different 'functionalist' interpretations of social facts.[26] Though it is mentioned that this study intends to use exchange theory and systems theory it is by no means inferred that they are non-functionalist approaches. For the sake

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25. Maurice Mandelbaum, "Social Facts", *British Journal of Sociology*, 6 (December, 1955), pp. 305-316. The interesting fact about this Durkheimian notion is its opposition to the explanation of the complex by the simple. Durkheim noted that the category of the 'social' is rooted in the individual consciousness but ranges far beyond it. See *Emile Durkheim 1858-1917*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff, (Ohio: State University Press, 1960), p. 27.

26. Harold Fallding, "Only One Sociology", *British Journal of Sociology*, 23 (1972), pp. 93-101.

of consistency the popular terminology under the rubric of structural functionalism has been used to avoid the confusion of an all embracing conceptual scheme. The reader will therefore note that in this literature survey the key concepts of exchange theory and systems analysis are used to give prominence to certain ideas at the latter stage of the discussion. Accordingly, we discuss individual (analytic) properties and structural properties of welfare organizations by using structural functional terminology and the global properties by using exchange and systems terminology.

Whatever categorization we may follow, we adhere to a systematic approach wherein acts are viewed as both microscopic and macroscopic if their consequences are seen to affect the properties of microscopic and macroscopic units. Some cut off point is always to be specified because in the long run there will be 'consequences to consequences' that would move from the microscopic to the macroscopic.

2.4 (a) Fallacies of Reductionism

Before attempting a review of the literature under the suggested framework two kinds of reductionism that need to be avoided deserve a mention. There are two popular erroneous reductionist arguments in the social sciences. One reduces social analysis to the level of a universal theory of action or

to psychology.[27] This denies, in effect, the status of a discipline to sociology. It is widely embraced by the philosophers and psychologists and is particularly common in studies that use survey data about attitudes of individuals, such as in political sociology, the explanation of the conservatism--liberal continuum. The explanatory processes used are clearly intrapersonal. In this study individual properties will be examined only in so far as they produce emergent properties characteristic of the collective of which they are a part. Otherwise they remain truly psychological, and not determinative of social phenomena. It then becomes functional psychology but not functional sociology. Durkheim phrased the point characteristically:

> "The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of individual consciences."[28]

The second kind of reductionism refers to macrosociology--to the assumption that macro and microsociological theories are

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27. In fact, various activities are labelled and berated as reductionist, as it often carries negative pejorative connotations. In general, an activity will be called reductionist if it explains an event, which, on the surface, according to common sense, or according to received wisdom is of a given nature in such a way as to imply that it is not of that nature at all. This involves the claim that terms which were previously used to describe or explain a phenomenon are not 'essential' terms. If an agent's reasons and motives are believed to be held because of an agent's biological make-up or some such then this would be reductionism. It is not to be understood that all reductionism is bad but it is bad if the reductionist claim is beyond all existing scientific paradigms.

28. Durkheim, *Rules of Sociological Method*, p. 111.

isometric. That is the wrongly held notion that studying individuals and small groups will provide one with all the theoretical answers to macro phenomena. This has been convincingly argued by Mills and Wolin[29] and therefore needs no further elaboration.

2.5 Analytic Properties

These are properties of collectives which are obtained by focussing upon some property of each individual member. For example, the average income of a city can be computed by obtaining individual income data of all individuals. The same method is going to be used to study collectives in the field of welfare. In the case of welfare organizations, if it is client-serving members who make decisions in those organizations, then we study the part they play in creating an interorganizational network of agencies. Certain characteristics of these individual members

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29. Mills, *Sociological Imagination*, Ch. I, Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought* (Boston: Little 1960), pp. 429-434. Mills defines our entrapment in a socio-psychologism in the following terms. "During the modern era, physical and biological science has been the major common denominator of serious reflection and popular metaphysics in Western societies...[and] that more general intellectual interests tend to slide into this ares, to be formulated there most sharply, and when so formulated, to be thought somehow to have reached, if not a solution, at least a profitable way of being carried along". Mills, *Sociological Imagination*, pp. 20-21.

assume significance in the area of interorganizational relationships, as the collectives are related through the decisions of such mediating personnel. The elements described here are the professional orientations, ideologies, informal power of lower participants and orientations of executives.

2.5 (a) Professional Orientation of Members

The professionals in bureaucracies have been characterized by many writers as marginal men. Generally, they are likely to be critical of organizational goals and performance standards due mainly to their professional norms and standards inculcated in the process of training and the continuing pressure exerted by like minded colleagues. In addition, they are likely to demand greater autonomy in decision making and less interference from superiors in carrying out their professional activities. Professionals are less responsive to organizationally controlled sanctions: they care more for the opinions of colleagues and associations than for higher evaluation by bureaucratic superiors. Many empirical studies hold that these generalizations are true of many professional groups.[30]

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30. Mary E.W. Goss, "Influence and Authority Among Physicians in an Outpatient Clinic", *American Sociological Review*, 26 (1961), pp. 39-50; Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (December 1957: February 1958), pp. 281-306, 444-480 and William Kornhauser, *Scientists In Industry: Conflict and Accommodation*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1962).

It has been suggested by many that the authority of expertise (generic to profession)[31] is more effective in ordering human effort in organizations. Gouldner demonstrated that conventional, monocratic, and punishment centred bureaucracies are associated with rigidity, are less creative, and mostly counter-productive. Many others, such as Goss, Smigel, Thompson and Blau, have suggested that the principles of expertise and professionalism may constitute more efficient and more personally satisfying modes of organizing work than the classical principles of rational-legal administrative structures.[32]

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31 Parsons pointed out that Max Weber, in his classic discussion of rational-legal bureaucracy, failed to distinguish between the authority of administrative office and the authority of expertise. See Talcott Parsons, "Introduction" in Max Weber, *The Theory of Social And Economic Organization*, pp. 58-60. But it was Weber who correctly forsaw that the merger of those two kinds of authority makes the modern administrative apparatus such an efficient tool for power. Peter M. Blau and Richard A. Schoenherr, "New Forms of Power", in *People and Organizations*, eds., Graeme Salaman and Kenneth Thompson, (London: Longmans, 1973), p. 21.

32. Mary E. W. Goss, "Patterns of Bureaucracy Among Hospital Staff Physicians", in Eliot Friedson, ed., *The Hospital in Modern Society*, (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 170-194; Erwin O. Smigel, *The Wall Street Lawyer*, (New York: The Free Press, 1964); Victor Thompson, *Modern Organizations*, (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1961); Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, pp. 197-198.

There are, however, some negative consequences of professionalism that impinge on interorganizational behaviour. The quest for professionalism leads to barriers being created between organizations. The narrower the field of expertise of the worker the greater is the distance between him and others in the field of welfare. Also, the profesionals come to invest such tremendous faith in their own field of competence so as to devalue the expertise of others.[33] This can lead to low priority being offered to interorganizational relationships. This is a resultant of two sets of factors. First, professional jealousies tend to reduce the capacities of members to communicate beyond professional boundaries. Second, as some writers argue, professionalization or over professionalization in social work will cause the loss of its basic humanitarian values and the profession will abandon those values. Carr-Saunders deplored this tendency earlier in the century when he said:

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33. Classic studies on the problems confronting interaction amongst various professionals in the field of mental health are reported by A. Zander, et. al., *Role Relations in the Mental Health Professions*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967). He concluded that although the mental health professions commonly value close teamwork, they are also organized in a definitely hierarchical manner leading to a devaluation of the contribution by those paraprofessions at the bottom of the hierarchy. In an analysis of treatment organizations, Vinter remarks that "Competing claims are presented with respect to the essential competencies, preferred tasks and appropriate statuses". Robert D. Vinter, "Analysis of Treatment Organizations", *Social Work*, 8 (July 1963), pp. 3-15.

> "As a consequence of the trend towards specialization, the professional man no longer has a comprehensive interest in his client. He feels that he has no general responsibility for those who come under his care...."[34]

In other words, it has been suggested that professionalization leads to a displacement of goals in which means towards the attainment of goals take on a terminal value.[35]

The negative effect of professionalism in interorganizational relationships has been seen by many writers. In the area of fostering, for example, Briar identified that the key variable in determining foster care placement is the function of the particular agency rather than the need of the client.[36] Specialized agency goals tend to inhibit interorganizational relationships. As agency goals become limited and narrower, bases for exchange behaviours by members can become extremely limited. Kahn has detailed the negative consequences of professionalized-bureaucratic "gestalt" for the development of an integrated service network.[37]

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34. Alexander Carr-Saunders, "Metropolitan Conditions and Traditional Professional Relationships", in *Metropolis in Modern Life*, ed. Robert M. Fisher, (New York: Double Day, 1965), p. 283.

35. This has been convincingly demonstrated by J. H. Robb in "Family Structure and Agency Coordination: Decentralisation and the Citizen", in *Social Welfare Institutions*, ed. Mayer N. Zald, (New York: John Wiley, 1963), pp. 383-99.

36. Scott Briar, "Clinical Judgements in Foster Care Placement", *Child Welfare*, 24, (April 1963), pp. 161-169.

37. Alfred J. Kahn, *Studies in Social Policy and Planning*, (New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1969), Ch. 7, pp. 243-294.

The only piece of positive finding with regard to professionalism and horizontal communication between organizations comes from Hage and collaborators. They found corroborative evidence to suggest that the degree of professional activity related positively with interdepartmental communications. They also found the frequency of such interdepartmental communication greatest with others at the same status level ($r = .67$).[38] The conclusion to be reached is that professionalism drives personnel for colleague-type contacts with outside agencies, which by implication should be less frequent for people who score lower on a scale of professionalism.

2.5 (b) Ideology of the Welfare Worker

The ideology is of concern because of its importance in the activities welfare workers perform in organizations and the nature of the problems they handle. If decisions that social welfare workers make are conceptualized as a result of perceived problems and predisposing values, then the ideology of the actor assumes considerable significance. The ideology influences the range of facts to be observed, the importance attached to them, and, by inference, what ought to be done. Value preferences

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38. Jerald Hage, Michael Aiken, and Cora Marett, "Organization Structure and Communications", *American Sociological Review*, 36, (1971), pp. 860-871.

regarding social welfare tend to be described in terms of opposites; institutional versus residual (economic), conservative versus progressive (political), determinism versus free will (human nature), psycho-dynamic mindedness versus social action mindedness (technology).

The latter dichotomy in orientation has been identified for a long time in the social welfare profession. Although the prescriptive model is a coordinated approach that combines both individualized services and broader programmes of prevention, Boehm reminds us that the development of the profession has been characterized by periods during which one or the other has been dominant.[39] Eveline Burns brought out this duality in orientation when she said:

> "It should be recognized that there are two types of professional workers who are differentiated by their professional objectives. The first, the social case worker, is concerned with bringing about change in the individual and is essentially clinically and therapeutically oriented. The second, the social welfare specialist is concerned with change in social institutions and is non-clinical".[40]

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39. Werner W. Boehm, "The Nature of Social Work", *Social Work* 3, (1958), pp. 10-18.

40. Eveline M. Burns, "Tomorrow's Social Needs and Social Work Education", *Journal of Education for Social Work*, 2, (1966), pp. 10-20. She also points out that professional activity of the first kind justifies licensing whereas the second does not.

Another study pertaining to values and ideologies of workers was conducted by Taber and Vattano.[41] Their study suggested that the discussion of a clinical-social dichotomy in the literature had little meaning to practising social workers who coordinated both functions in their organizational behaviour. The authors concluded that the above dichotomy was in essence an artifact of existing practice theories. Other empirical studies, by McLeod and Meyer, too, have supported the contentions of Taber and Vattano.[42] These studies, however, point to another important fact which is characteristic of the profession today, and that is the distinction between trained and untrained welfare workers. Both Mcleod, Mayer and Nettler noted the significant differences in orientation between trained and untrained workers, in the field. These findings, however instructive they might be, cannot be taken as sufficient evidence to suggest the existence of a 'standardized' ideology among the professionals. The significance of this psychological--social dilemma lies in its tendency to create two broad specializations in the profession: the clinically minded

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41. Merlin Taber and Anthony Vattano, "Clinical and Social Orientations in Social Work: An Empirical Study", *Social Service Review*, 44, (1970), pp. 34-43.

42. McLeod and Meyer found that there was a high degree of ideological consensus around the nature of social problems among social workers. Refer to Donna L. McLeod and Henry J. Meyer, "A Study of the Values of Social Workers", in *Behavioural Science for Social Workers*, ed. Edwin J. Thomas (New York: The Free Press, 1967), Table 30-2, pp. 401-416; and Gwynn Nettler, "Ideology and Welfare Policy", *Social Problems*, 6, (1958-1959), pp. 203-212.

'technician' who devotes his time to the tasks of practice, treatment, and psychological theory; and the socially minded 'planner' to the formation of public policy and social action. That this failure to understand the right nexus between private troubles and public issues can lead to different visions of the professional function has no doubt been commented upon by many social work educators.[43]

As to the possibility of a relationship between ideology and interorganizational patterns, there is only scant empirical evidence. Miller has noted the inhibiting effect of ideological distance among workers in developing interorganizational coordination.[44] Barth considered the frequency of interorganizational contacts to be a function of similarity in orientations and training. Others such as Guetzkow, Levine, and Morris, too, have come to the same conclusion, but the independent variable of ideology in their work is left undefined and this probably reflects

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43. "It is not fitting", says Konopka, "for the profession to indulge in the destructive practice of arguing an 'either-or' position--either direct help to individuals or a change of society". Gisela Konopka, *Social Values and Social Actions: The Place of History in the Social Work Curriculum*, (Washington: Council on Social Work Education, 1967).

44. Walter B. Miller, "Inter-Institutional Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention", *Human Organization*, 17:3 (Fall, 1958), pp. 20-28.

the confusion over the real relationships.[45] Research is needed in the areas of ideology and especially the polarization of the individual and the social so as to suggest definite links with the frequency of their interorganizational behaviour.

2.5 (c) Informal Power of Lower Participants

There is still another critical reason for attaching such importance to the frontline worker in welfare organizations, and this has to do with the problem of the internal distribution of power. This is a problem that attracted the attention of Weber, who described the three different organizational structures primarily in terms of their power distributions.[46] Weber reasoned out that legitimacy of orders in a rational-legal hierarchy of

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45. Ernest A. T. Barth, "The Causes and Consequences of Inter-Agency Conflict", *Sociological Enquiry*, (Winter, 1963), pp. 51-56; Harold Guetzkow, "Relations Among Organizations", in *Studies on Behaviour in Organizations*, ed. Raymond V. Bowers, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966), pp. 14-32; Levine, et.al., "Community Interorganizational Problems in Providing Medical Care and Social Services"; Robert Morris, "New Concepts in Community Organizations", *The Social Welfare Forum*, (1962), pp. 128-145.

46. Weber defined power as the probability that an actor will realize his directives despite resistance, which is very broad indeed. His concept of domination is more specific: it refers to those cases of the exercise of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by another. See Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 156.

authority rests on the legitimacy of position. In this type which is established consciously within a context of either purposive or value rationality the graduation of power is from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy. Thus the superordinates have power and the subordinates have little or no power. Indeed, this is the reason for his term "rational-legal". Some writers have since raised an un-Weberian kind of question--what gives power to lower participants? Etzioni assessed that it was not unusual for lower participants in complex organizations to wield considerable power and influence not associated with their formally defined positions within these organizations. The personal power of lower participants results from particular aspects of their location within the organization.[47] If there is any organization where lower participants wield considerable power, then it should necessarily be in welfare where power over information, persons, and instrumentalities is concentrated in the hands of the lower level personnel. When one takes into account this power base of the worker in welfare, it becomes clear,

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47. Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, (New York: The Free Press, 1961); Mechanic provides insights into how organizations work as a give and take between power bases of the superiors and those of subordinates. See David Mechanic, "Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations", *Administrative Science Quarterly* 7 (December 1962), pp. 349-364; for an application of Mechanic's concepts to social work organizations, see M.V. Don Chandraratna, "Issues of Bureaucracy in Social Welfare", (unpublished Master's dissertation, Flinders University, South Australia, 1972).

firstly, that the values and ideologies of the welfare worker have to be reflected in his organizational behaviour. Secondly, the discretion, knowledge of the cases and other factors should enable the administrative impact of those working at lower levels significant in the ultimate delivery of services in welfare organizations.

In discussing the problematic of bureaucracy on welfare, Weber's position has often been misunderstood and the notions of 'red tape' and 'inefficiency' have been overemphasized, especially in social work literature. As Albrow points out, Weber was aware of the view that bureaucracy is associated with 'red tape' and 'inefficiency'.[48] Nor was Weber unaware of the existence of informal networks, and in relation to welfare it is appropriate to seriously note his remark that bureaucratic organizations may produce 'definite impediments for the discharge of business in a manner best adapted to the individuality of each case'.[49] By its very nature, a rationalized bureaucratic structure operates according to systematized rules of conduct and it is conceivable therefore that the idiosyncratic feature of discretionary lower level official will be superior in terms of dealing with a given individuality of a particular case. There is the familiar example of the patrimonial

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48. Martin Albrow, *Bureaucracy*, (London: Pergamon, 1970) pp. 26-54.

49. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, (New York: 1968), pp. 974-5 cited in Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, p. 159.

ruler who dispenses a 'just' verdict on the basis of his personal knowledge to a much higher extent than is possible in a modern law court. If it is possible to establish that welfare organizations deviate from the pure type of rational legal domination then the variable under scrutiny here bears on the decisions that are made on behalf of the clientele. In assessing the important task of coordination this area needs further analysis.

2.5 (d) Orientation of Executive Cadre

Resource allocation in terms of staff time and manpower determines in part the intensity of interorganizational coordination. In turn, this allocation is dependent upon the assessment of executive corps of the return of this type of investment. It is a safe assessment to make that if interorganizational relationships are a function of fluid resources like money, then in times of resource limitation and economic stringency they are likely to be jeopardized because of the possibility of cash transfer. It can be shown that managers are partially evaluated by budget records. It is accepted practice that even in welfare, supervisors and managers feel successful, other things being equal, when they "meet the budget" within the organization.[50] If, on the other

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50. Chris Argyris, "The Impact of Budgets on People", in *Social Work Administration*, ed. Harry A. Schatz (New York: Council of Social Work Education, 1970), p. 351.

hand, nonconvertible resources are provided for in the form of special personnel or special equipment, which represent 'sunk costs' for the focal organization, then they are much more likely to produce interorganizational efforts. Rothman and Litwak have noted that nonconvertible resources are likely to produce better and vigorous transactions if they are also mandated by the resources.[51]

There is little direct evidence regarding the effect that top executives have on organizations simply because there has been little research. Studies on leadership are confusing and a major factor in the confusion, aside from the ideological biases evident in the research, is the large number of dependent variables used in analysis. Research has focussed mainly on styles of leadership, leadership succession, and decision making by executives. Miles, Snow, and Pfeffer[52] conducted research into the orientations of executives and their impact on organizations. We can extrapolate from their findings into interorganizational coordination as defined by us to suggest that out of the four types of perceptions among leaders that they noted, namely,

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51. Litwak and Rothman, "Towards the Theory and Practice of Coordination Between Formal Organizations", in *Organizations and Clients*, eds. Rosengren and Lefton.

52. Raymond E. Miles, Charles C. Snow, and Jeffrey Pfeffer, "Organization-Environment: Concepts and Issues", *Industrial Relations*, 13:3 (October, 1974), pp. 244-64.

"domain defenders", "reluctant reactors", "anxious analyzers", and "enthusiastic prospectors", it is the latter perception that will perceive opportunities for change and experiment which is a critical requirement of a boundary spanning role.

As Starbuck[53] has pointed out, many top organizational elites are distanced from organizational boundaries such that their orientations are inward looking, failing to see beyond the organization. He also strongly suggests that such restrictive orientations guide the strategy of any organization. As an example, Miller points out that delinquency prevention programmes have often been marred because of the inability of executives to see the task of the enterprise other than from their own vantage point. Being close to the legal apparatus they fail to realize the importance of environmental influences in deliquency prevention. Hence there tends to be misallocation and underutilization of both fluid and non fluid resources.[54] Resources do not allocate themselves, nor do programmes move from fluid support to nonfluid support basis, without executive decisions.

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53. William H. Starbuck, "Organizations and their Environments", in Marvin D. Dunnette, ed. *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1976), pp. 1071-75.

54. See Miller, "Inter-Institutional Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention", and also Reid, "Inter-Agency Coordination in Delinquency Prevention and Control".

2.6 Structural Properties

Structural properties are elements of collectives which are obtained by performing some operation on the data about the relations of each member to some or all of the others. In this connection note the relevance of Koffka's comments on certain features of the pecking order of birds.

> "If one compares the behaviour of the bird at the top of the pecking list, the despot, with that of one very far down,...then one finds the latter much more cruel to the few others over whom he lords it than the former in his treatment of all members....It is not difficult to find analogies to this in human societies, and therefore one side of such behaviour must be primarily the effects of the social groupings, and not of individual characteristics".[55]

In the social sciences there are many different methods and theories of structures and structural analysis: for example, structural functionalism in anthropology, Marxist structuralism, Levi-Straussian structuralism, and so on. We should therefore bear in mind the common features of most types of structural analyses as well as the major differences between them.

In most structural interpretations there is a notion that relations between constituent elements are more important than individual entities. For example, in Marxian structuralism the

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55. K. Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, (New York: Harcourt, 1936), pp. 668-9; cited in Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 203.

class position of the worker cannot be analysed other than in terms of his relationship with the employer. These relations between constituent elements are regular, systematic, and orderly. By implication, therefore the total picture that one draws of any structure is an abstraction out of the observable properties.

There are two major strands in the use of the structural approach towards a sociological explanation. Broadly speaking, the positivist conception tries to arrive at laws and regularities to observe and explain the phenomena whereas non-positivists try to use it to account for the patterns of social consciousness of those involved in the relationships. As an extreme example of the former it can be pointed out that British Social Anthropology conceives of social structure positivistically. In the other extreme we may point to the structural interpretations of Marxist science although many would reject the label of structuralism. In a Marxian science the notion of a problematic,[56] clearly shows that any individual term acquires meaning only if it is located within such a problematic. The argument would be that in the case of the capitalist mode of production, for instance, the relations of production constitute the 'real' subject of the historical

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56. It means a system of basic related concepts which fit together to form the conceptual framework of a particular science. See L. Althusser, *For Marx*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).

process and the subjective consciousnesses of men are a function of the political and ideological relations. In using a structuralist explanation, once again as in the case of analytic properties, we have to argue that just as we analyse how human action is caused by structures so also we must consider how these structures themselves are produced by human activity.[57]

In this discussion of interorganizational literature the focal point of analysis becomes the organization unit. The key structural attributes of organizations and their function in maintaining interorganizational coordination will be discussed accordingly.

2.6 (a) Organizational Goals

Organizational sociologists have found it useful to assume that organizations are purposive. The defining characteristic of an organization which distinguishes it from other types of social units, according to Parsons, is the "primacy of orientation to the

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57. For a collection of structuralist and other related writings see M. Douglas, *Rules and Meanings: The Anthropology of Every Day Knowledge*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973); Peter M. Berger and Thomas Luckmann have emphasized the dialectical interaction between man and society in *The Social Construction of Reality*, (London: Allen Lane, 1967).

attainment of a specific goal".[58] All organizational activities including coordination, can be seen as directed toward achieving some organizational goal, in whatever manner that goal is defined. As Reid remarks, it forces consideration of what goals actually are. Although prescriptive writings on coordination assume that organizations should have common goals they always beg the question. "It is another matter", says Reid, "...to examine agency goals for what they are, without prior assumptions or illusions."[59]

When agencies are seeking similar goals there is a strong tendency to coordinate the activities. In such situations the organizations concerned tend to benefit in two ways. Firstly, coordination can result in increased effectiveness at a lower cost; and, secondly, it leads to the logical divisions of labour, thus saving the efforts of both, to be put to better use. Levine and collaborators pointed out that agencies cooperate to acquire necessary resources. In their study in the field of medical care it was found that since no single organization could provide the total spectrum of services required by all patients or clients,

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58. Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations", p. 63.

59. William Reid, "Inter-Agency Coordination in Delinquency Prevention and Control", *Social Service Review*, 38:4 (December, 1964), pp. 418-428.

an organization, in order to fulfill the general objective of health care, did direct the clients to resources available in other organizations.[60] Other writers, too, have stressed the importance of inter-agency relations in achieving goals that are complementary.[61] Organizations that have similar goals tend to cooperate whereas organizations that profess diverse goals tend to compete. Goal complementariness leads, according to Thomas, to "facilitative interdependence" which can only be ascertained after empirical study.[62]

It has been demonstrated that the shared goal formulation comes into sharp focus in times of community disaster, for it is fairly well established that community crises provide solidarity, cohesion, and coordinated effort.[63] It is a common occurrence . times of widely publicized waves of criminal activity and juvenile violence for agencies to become quite willing to exchange resources in achieve common goals. However, as Reid argues, the crisis provided coordination can prove evanescent, and if a continuing

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60. Levine, White, and Paul, "Community Interorganizational Problems in Providing Medical Care and Social Services".

61. M. M. Ahla Annikki, *Referred by Visiting Nurse*, (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1950).

62. Edwin J. Thomas, "Effects of Facilitative Role Inter-Dependence on Group Functioning", *Human Relations*, 19 (1957), pp. 347-366.

63. William H. Form and Sigmund Nosow, *Community in Disaster*, (New York: Harper, 1958).

structural arrangement is not forthcoming, the coordinative arrangements tend to dissipate.[64]

It has to be stated that the determination of organizational activities by its goals is a problematic issue. Goals stated in official declarations of purpose often bear little relation to the operative goals that guide organizational activities. The official "stated goals" cannot be uncritically accepted as real goals since organizations hold public goals for front purposes. Public goals may not correspond with the actual state of affairs existing in the organization. The doctors of a hospital, for example, may state that they are concerned with the quality of patient care, and yet decisions made in the hospital may reflect only an increase in private income. Understandably, therefore, the student of organizational behaviour who takes the goal approach must try to understand both formal and operative goals. There is a continual problem of adequate specification of the nature of the major variable, organizational goals, as well as its measurement. According to Etzioni the goal of an organization can be determined the same way other sociological characteristics of organizations are established. It can be determined by an examination of organizational

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64. Reid, "Inter-Agency Coordination in Delinquency Prevention and Control", 362.

processes, such as the flow of work in a factory, the attributes of its structure, such as priorities in the allocation of means or the assignment of personnel.[65] The use of this variable to understand organizational processes is therefore dependent on the definition of terms by the analyst.

Whether interorganizational behaviour takes place as a result of complementary goals can be ascertained by an empirical examination of the subjective awareness of goal interdependence. There are three possible forms of awareness of interdependence:

1. The organization officially recognizes the need to coordinate (the stated goal, public goal).
2. The members are aware of the need to coordinate (operative goal).
3. The larger public are aware of the need to coordinate (requisite goal).[66]

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65. Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 7; *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, pp. 104-122, et. passim. Also see L. E. Ohlin, *Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison*, (New York: S.S.R.C., 1960) pp. 111-129. Ohlin says that the goals referred to as "public" have the same function for the organization as public attitudes have for individuals. The distinction between public and private goals and its consequences for organizational operation and effectiveness and other correlates are contained in Ohlin's analysis.

66. For an explanation of different types of goals see D.V. Donnison and V. Chapman, *Social Policy and Administration*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965), Ch. 3. It may also be helpful to bear in mind that these may be related to each other in time and divergence between different 'tones of voice', need not be a sign of confusion or error provided they are neither extreme nor contradictory.

Although the awareness of goal interdependence and actual states of interdependency may be correlated, goals are sufficiently independent to warrant separate consideration. Hage and Aiken found in an analysis of sixteen welfare agencies a high correlation rate of interorganizational activity and a goal related variable--complexity; complexity as measured by the number of occupations, especially those requiring knowledge. The explanation they offer is that the variety of collegial relationships that professionals maintain, which are not restricted by the boundaries of the agencies in which they are members, lead to a broader interpretation of legally specific goals.[67] This is attributable in part to the cosmopolitan outlook of professionals, as suggested by Gouldner and Merton, which is flexible and helpful to seek out information about other services.[68] Peter Blau says in the same vein of argument that:

> "Identification with professional standards...tends to make a man...more aware of the broader implications of his job and more interested in seeing to it that agency policies and operations do not violate professional principles."[69]

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67. Jerald Hage and Michael Aiken, *Social Change in Complex Organizations*, (New York: Random House, 1970). pp. 35-38, et passim.

68. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Ch. x, pp. 387-420; Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, (1957-8), pp. 281-306, 444-480.

69. Peter Blau, *On the Nature of Organizations*, (New York: Wiley, 1974 p. 230.

The fact of complexity therefore envisages an attribute of the profession's training and practice. The professionals informed concern with helping shape agency goals and administrative procedures which may lie at the root of many conflicts between administrators and professionals, but we have to understand that they nevertheless could broaden the operations of an agency. The argument is that a professional's training is likely to detect the complementarity of objectives that escape the notice of one without such training.

Though management and professionals may often disagree on the goals of an organization, it is difficult to frustrate professional activity without endangering the total mission of an organization. Many welfare goals have genuine public approval in the dispensation of the services and the expert knowledge is considered by the public to be essential. It is therefore advantageous to an organization to compromise with the expectations of professionals than court the danger of dissatisfactions and defections. This fact contradicts the earlier assumption that professional specialization has an inhibiting effect on interorganizational relationships.

2.6 (b) Resources

Shared goals, though necessary, are not however sufficient condition for coordination. For real exchanges to occur there must be the ability of organizations to share resources to achieve

mutual goals. It is evident, for example, that it has become far too common for many agencies catering to mental health to define their goals as uniquely shaped to the resources available, thereby limiting the services they can, in fact, provide. Levine and White found in their study referred to above that agencies that show a readiness to coordinate are the ones whose goals exceed the resources. Larger corporate agencies in the field of health engaged in fewer exchanges than small agencies organized in a federated structure.[70]

Yutchman and Seashore point to an important distinction in the kinds of resources that give directionality to the bargaining position. They concern the relevance, universality, and substitutability of the resource.

(i) Relevance. The degree of relevance of resources is important in a useful classifcation of organizations in that it reflects the relative bargaining power of organizations. The degree of relevance can be determined a priori from a knowledge of the typical output of an organization and its throughput activities.

(ii) Universality. Some resources are of universal relevance in that all organizations need them. They

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70. Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the study of Interorganizational Relationships", p. 588.

include: (1) personnel, (2) physical facilities, (3) technology, (4) liquid resources, such as money. In order to replenish the resources exchanges are necessary; the intensity of exchange is dependent on the demand. Where the demand is less the competition will be minimal either because other organizations do not require the same resource or because the particular resource is ordinarily obtained through 'symbiotic exchange'.[71]

(iii) Substitutability. It is the case that not all welfare organizations use the same technology or process to obtain a similar output. For example, some family welfare agencies concentrate on counselling whereas others actively seek community resources, although both organizations have the same projected target.

Theoretically, therefore, resources become significant in interorganizational collaboration, depending on their relevance, universality, and substitutability. A crucial problem in this context is the determination of the demand according to the above-mentioned criteria. In stable, relatively free competitive environments, the determination may be easy to make, but otherwise

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71. Ephraim Yutchman and Stanley S. Seashore, "A System Resource Approach to Organizational Effectiveness", *American Sociological Review*, 32, (1967), pp. 891-903; Hawley defined Symbiosis as "mutual dependence between unlike organizations". See Amos Hawley, *Human Ecology*, (New York: Ronald Press, 1950) cited in Yutchman and Seashore, "A System Resource Approach to Organizational Effectiveness".

difficult indeed. Yutchman and Seashore comment that difficulties can be further complicated in cases where competing organizations have differential access to relatively rich or relatively poor environments. In human service organizations this fact is seemingly important as the resource of exchange is mostly in non-liquid form.[72]

To engage in coordinative attempts should lead to an increase in resources for the agencies concerned. Similarly, as Reid points out, there are expenditures of both tangible and intangible kinds involved in this process. Costs increase with the intensity of coordination. Tangible costs are money and staff time and intangible costs are decreases in autonomy and prestige. Transactions between organizations are never totally harmonious. And again, as relations between persons, not all organizational transactions are horizontal. Vertical transactions are always problematic. This problem will be dealt with at length in regard to the exchange theory.

2.6 (c) Client Careers

Rosengren and Lefton introduced two concepts--laterality and longitudinality--to describe the orientations towards clients

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72. Yutchman and Seashore, "A System Resource Approach to Organizational Effectiveness", p. 899.

as shown by organizational members. They say:

> "Laterality represents an interest in the client biographical space, ranging from a focus upon a limited aspect of the client (typically found in the hospital emergency room) to a broad interest in who the client is as a person.
>
> Longitudinality is a time dimension. Organizational interests may range from truncated span of time (again as the emergency room) to an almost indeterminate span of time (as in chronic illness hospitals)".[73]

These concepts highlight the saliency of organizational interests in the clients for selected features of organizational structure and functioning. At the same time, they also suggest that if organizations differ in their responsiveness to client characteristics, not only do they differ in terms of their perception of clients and their intentions towards them, but they also differ in terms of structural arrangements, interpersonal processes, and interorganizational relations.

This recent awareness of client roles in organizational functioning is a major development. The emphasis upon rational efficiency, authority and control, while of importance in understanding economic and administrative organizations, may be inadequate in the analysis of human service organizations that

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73. M. Lefton and W. R. Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions", *American Sociological Review*, 31, (December 1966), pp. 802-810.

manage the personal and social dilemmas of humans. Parsons states that "in the case of professional services, there is another very important pattern where the recipient of the service becomes an operative member of the service providing organization....This taking of the customer *into* the organization has important implications for the nature of the organization."[74] But his analysis confines itself only to its implications for a systemic analysis and fails to pursue the broader implications of that awareness.

It is necessary to explicitly identify the client characteristics that may have varying impacts on organizational functions not necessarily in terms of the system maintenance requisites. Perrow has demonstrated the relationship between definitions of client material and contrasting hospital technologies.[75] Etzioni has demonstrated the significance of client control through coercion and the resulting organizational functions.[76] However,

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74. Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations", p. 70 (italics in the original)

75. Perrow argues that hospitals, as a case in point, attempt to alter the state of the human material in terms of entrenched cultural definitions which lead to variant patterns of organizational functioning. See Charles Perrow, "Hospitals: Technology, Structure, and Goals", in *Handbook of Organizations*, ed. James G. March, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 650-677.

76. Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, p. 94.

Rosengren and Lefton's use of the two concepts highlights their analytic potential. They have provided a synthesis of the previous work dealing with clients and they provide a point of departure for generating fruitful hypotheses. Table 2-2 is a diagrammatic representation of the manner in which client interests affect organizational structure and function.

TABLE 2-2

HYPOTHESES RELATING CLIENT CAREERS TO ORGANIZATIONAL INTERESTS

LATERALITY	LONGITUDINALITY	
	Low	High
Low	- Laterality - Longitudinality	1 2 - Laterality + Longitudinality
High	+ Laterality - Longitudinality	3 4 + Laterality + Longitudinality

Lefton and Rosengren imply that organizations that score high on both dimensions (cell 4) will have higher interorganizational relationships. In the high lateral-longitudinal organization (cell 4) the client is seen as a person over a longer period of time. For example, a tuberculosis hospital will have more interorganizational

collaboration than an acute general hospital, because it must take serious measures to educate the public and socialize its patients. Further, the fact of a longitudinal interest in the future biography of the client means working with those organizations responsible for the later career of the client. The non-lateral/non-longitudinal type (cell I) has a specific interest in the client and "its concern with discriminating strategies tend to make such organizations *isolated professional islands in the community*."[77] When the client is seen as a total person needing services given by a diversified staff and diversified sources, organizations turn to outside bodies for resources. Therefore, high lateral and longitudinal interests in clients significantly influence organizational patterns when there is a general recognition that such services are potentially relevant to all groups of clients. Responsibility for the long term welfare of a client requires some sort of planning and joint action with other organizations. This may be at both formal and informal levels of interaction. Formal interaction means collaborating as members of organizations and informal interaction may involve either an intervening organization such as a professional association or a voluntary association. Rosengren and Lefton are trying to illustrate

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77. Rosengren and Lefton "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions", p. 807. (italics mine)

that an organization's structural extensions in time and space towards other organizations are linked with the commitments towards its clientele. They also make the point that such extensions on the two dimensions affect interagency collaboration only when services are considered requisite on a universalistic rather than a particularistic basis.[78]

2.6 (d) Age of Organization

New organizations must rely heavily on establishing social relationships with strangers and, acording to Stinchcombe, this is one of the "liabilities of newness".[79] In order to overcome this liability, organizations tend to offer services of a broad-based kind, addressing themselves to multiple sectors of the community by focusing upon multiple aspects of clients' life (high laterality). Rosengren comments that:

> "This will serve not only to attract a heterogeneous clientele, hopefully one large enough to sustain the new organization as an economy, but will also serve to link the new institution to a large organization set.[80]

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78. ibid, p. 809.

79. Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Social Structure and Organizations", in *Handbook of Organizations*, ed. James G. March, pp. 142-193.

80. William Rosengren, "The Careers of Clients and Organizations", in *Organizations and Clients*, eds. Lefton and Rosengren, pp. 117-135, p. 121.

New organizations can attract clients away from old organizations by becoming, in Bidwell's terms "moral associational" in nature, with clientele being inducted into the institution on a quasi-full membership basis.[81] Added to this, new organizations are also likely to begin life with a relatively new technology, the efficiency of which is yet untested. Rosengren describes this phenomenon as:

> "the utilization of multiple and uncoordinated efforts to achieve through *scope*, what cannot yet be achieved through *depth*".[82]

A final reference by Starbuck sums up in a different way what has been stated above: the older an organization becomes the more resistant is its social structure to change.[83] Demands for collaboration calls for loose structural arrangements and also a high discretionary flexibility at the operational level; an uncommon characteristic in mature organizations.

Theoretically, Rosengren argues, the capacity for inter-organizational collaboration is separate from the motivation to do so. He argues that, though the capacity increases with age, the motivation to do so decreases because of the pressure of norms of

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81. Charles E. Bidwell and Rebecca S. Vreeland, "College Education and Moral Orientations", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8 (September 1963), pp. 166-191.

82. Rosengren, "The Careers of Clients and Organizations, p. 123.

83. William H. Starbuck, "Organizational Growth and Development", in *Handbook of Organizations*, pp. 451-533.

rationality and perfection of technology leading to a specific focus on clients. With ageing the organization shows a tendency to become more competitive for control of the specialized resources it needs to achieve its goals. Some writers do maintain that older organizations will become more competitive with organizations having the same goals and seeking the same resources.[84]

It needs to be mentioned here that the establishment of a relationship between two characteristics of organizations (in this instance, age and interorganizational behaviour) is merely a starting point for elaborating it internally as well as externally.

> "Internal elaboration involves a search for intervening variables, without which the finding that an antecedent condition has a certain ultimate consequence cannot be interpreted and perhaps may even be misleading.[85]

For example, when Blau found that the impersonal control exerted

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84. Evan, Hage and Aiken point out that agencies with common goals tend to compete rather than cooperate quite contrary to what we asserted earlier. But Litwak and Rothman argue that "competition does not prohibit coordination where groups are aware of their interdependency. Second, those with common goals are often not in competition". See W.M. Evan, "The Organizational Set: Towards a Theory of Interorganizational Relations", in *Approaches to Organizational Design*, ed. J. D. Thompson, (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1966), pp. 175-191; Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "Organizational Structure and Interorganizational Dynamics", paper read at A.S.A. Meeting, August 1967, cited in Litwak and Rothman, "Towards the Theory and Practice of Coordination between Formal Organizations", pp. 137-186.

85. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, p. 73.

by statistical records of performance gave rise to impartial treatment of clients, it was not a simple and direct relationship. Rather complex intervening processes, such as conflicts with old clients, relieving tensions through friendly joking with colleagues, led ultimately to the maintenance of impartiality with clients.

External elaboration involves a search for the common factor responsible for the antecedent condition as well as the observed consequence that needs explanation. In the discussion here of the relationship between age and inter-agency collaboration the intervening variable may perhaps be the awareness of inter-dependence. Perlmutter argues along the lines that ageing leads to better awareness of interdependence thus resulting in the high frequency of interorganizational contacts.[86] Concern with the significance of a combination of conditions necessarily involves the conception of an organization as a configuration of interdependent elements whose differential significance has to be empirically determined through multivariate analysis.[87]

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86. Felice Perlmutter, "A Theoretical Model of Social Agency Development", p. 473.

87. For a method of testing the hypothesis that a given intervening variable or a set of intervening variables account for the relationship between two variables, see, Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis in *The Language of Social Research*, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenburg (New York: Free Press 1955), pp. 187-192.

Perlmutter sees all social agencies developing in three stages: self interest, professionalism, to social interest. Each stage has its own type of inter-agency relationship. At the self interest level, agencies relate primarily to others with a similar mission. During the second stage, much more interaction takes place with other professional agencies, and the focus is on the quality of service. In its social interest stage inter-agency activity "becomes evident...as a much broader spectrum of relationships". She summarizes that:

> "Whereas in the first stage the agency establishes relationships with similar agencies concerned with the same social problem and in the second stage with other professional services, in the third stage new paths of interaction emerge. Contacts develop with a variety of organizations, both professional and non-professional,...affecting the larger system as well.[88]

The crux of Perlmutter's argument has important theoretical import. Her approach differs from traditional means-end analysis of organizational patterns by directing attention to all elements of the system--internal and external--at a given stage of its growth.[89] In her analysis eight variables determine the dynamics

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88. Perlmutter, "Theoretical Model of Social Agency Development", p. 477.

89. Means-end analyses are dominant in the work of Charles Perrow. "Organizational Prestige: Some Functions and Dysfunctions", in *Social Welfare Institutions*, ed. Mayer N. Zald, pp. 331-340; and David L. Sills, *The Volunteers*, (Glencoe: Illinois: Free Press, 1957); John Seeley, et.al., *Community Chest*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957).

of organization behaviour. They are the following: external socioeconomic conditions, ideology, institutional mission--the setting of goals, organizational elites, services, clients, structure of authority, and inter-system relationships. The significance of these eight variables will be followed up in the discussion of global properties in our theoretical framework.

2.6 (e) Internal Structure and Diversity

Hage and Aiken contend that in several ways internal diversity creates a strain towards innovation and change. They remark that:

> "The conflict between different occupations and interest groups, or even different theoretical, philosophical, or other perspectives result in new ways of looking at organizational problems".[90]

This implies a greater awareness of the organizational environment, greater involvement of professional bodies and ultimately greater organizational interdependency. Also implied in this notion is the theoretical problem of organizational autonomy and prestige.

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90. Jerald Hage and Michael Aiken, "Organizational Interdependence and Intra-Organizational Structure", *American Sociological Review*, 33 (December, 1968), pp. 912-30. This is contrary to the thesis of Litwak and Hylton who argue that coordination reflects similarity or complementarity in goals. We have taken the latter position, for it could be argued that the function of coordination must be to enhance each other's goals and the need for such action does not arise when goals are totally dissimilar.

Since it is assumed that organizations in the normal course of events try to maximize their gains and minimize their losses, they contend that the partners will be chosen in terms of dissimilar goals.

The main thesis of Hage and Aiken is to test out how the internal structure of the organization affects the extent of the enduring relationships with other organizations. They argue that internal diversity (complexity) increases the decentralization and decreases the meticulous adherence to rules of conduct. Therefore they hypothesize that interdependence is directly related to complexity but only negatively related to centralization and rule compliance. In a study of sixteen welfare agencies in a large metropolitan community--ten private and six public--Hage and Aiken found a significant correlation coefficient between the number of occupational specialities in the organization and the number of joint programmes (interdependence). ($r = 0.87$) The professional interest of members was also quite highly related to inter-agency collaboration ($r = 0.60$). Further, these organizations had more active internal communication channels and decentralized decision structures. The nature of the bureaucratic control structure as measured by an index of rule observation and job specification, had very small inverse relationships with the number of joint programmes: ($r = 0.06$) and ($r = 0.13$) respectively.

According to the authors of this study, involvement of staff in areas of decision making introduces them to new perspectives and new techniques of innovation. Organizations with high coordination

networks tend to have slightly more decentralized decision structures. Similarly less control over work as measured by a hierarchy of authority tends to be negatively associated with interorganizational ventures. Hage and Aiken also found that formalization indices or the mechanisms used to control performances of members as indirectly related to the use of external resources.[91]

It is implied that organizations with decentralized decision structures and less formalized control relations between various levels of the hierarchy tend to encourage its members to enter into inter-organizational controls without the constraints and problems that inhere in rigid bureaucracies. Organizational flexibility allows for the interplay of a variety of organizational and occupational perspectives which are a feature of coordinated exchanges and therefore structural elements such as decentralization and formalization offer a number of hypotheses to the researcher interested in interorganizational coordination. These variables will be followed through in the following chapter where the proper classification of the items will be taken up.

2.7 Global Properties

The third level of analysis that is to follow in this chapter, is directed towards the compass of social systems.

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91. Hage and Aiken, "Organizational Interdependence and Inter-Organizational Structure", pp. 923-925.

Social systems are typically part of broader ones that encompass them and simultaneously constitute the environment of narrower systems they encompass. The aim here is to explain the interrelations between organizations at a higher level of abstraction.

It should be noted that the technical criterion by which organizational behaviour is delineated into three levels of analysis is an analytical one that applies to all types of collectives, and not alone to formal organizations.

The area of relationships between different organizations in the wider social system is captured here under two conceptual frameworks; the exchange view and the systems view. As mentioned earlier, both these conceptual approaches are reconciled within functionalism. It is maintained right through this discussion that functionalism is much the more capacious position in that it accommodates the others, because functionalist sociology gives the opportunity to use the analytical concepts such as structure, function, system, and balance across different disciplines and also because it gives prominence to the needs of the person without actually coalescing with individual psychology.[92]

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92. Fallding, "Only One Sociology". p. 100.

2.8 Social Exchange Theory

There are certain central ideas common to all social exchange theorists often referred to as "unit ideas" which represent an emergent synthesis of the social exchange perspective. Nisbet sees unit ideas in sociology as providing "fundamental, constitutive substance to sociology amid all the manifest differences among its authors".[93] In spite of the considerable differences between the different traditions in social exchange theory, with authors separated by more than six decades, certain unit ideas of social exchange processes persist.[94] The following four unit ideas seem to be central to the social exchange theory: (1) The principle of social scarcity; (2) The principle of reciprocity; (3) Exploitation and power; and (4) Social exchange and social solidarity. We will review them briefly in relation to interorganizational coordination.

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93. Robert A. Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition*, (New York: Basic Books, 1966). Nisbet also signifies the pragmatic criteria by which unit ideas are selected. They are (a) generality, (b) continuity, (c) distinctiveness, and (d) centrality. pp. 5-6.

94. See Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Social Life*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964); Peter P. Ekeh, "Issues In Social Exchange Theory", *Berkley Journal of Sociology*, 13 (1969), pp. 42-58; George C. Homans, "Social Behaviour as Exchange", *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (May, 1958) pp. 597-606, and his *Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

2.8 (a) The Principle of Social Scarcity

The scarcity of any product that has value compels the intervention of society in its distribution. So long as there is an abundance of such product, society leaves its distribution to chance or to natural laws. When such products are in short supply there have to be rules of exchange enunciated. We have described in Chapter I the system of institutionalized welfare as a segmented system with individual organizations or system parts varying in the kinds and frequency of relationships with one another. Ideally, one hopes that every agency should possess all elements in order to achieve the objectives: clients to serve, sufficient resources to provide services in the form of equipment, manpower, knowledge and finances. But under realistic conditions these elements are in short supply and hence an organization is compelled to limit its functions to achieve manageable objectives. Secondly, under conditions of element scarcity, organizations can seldom carry out even the limited functions without entering into manifold relationships with other organizations and the community outside. This creates interorganizational exchanges as necessary to satisfactory goal attainment. In Levine and White's study of health and welfare agencies, the exchange framework is used to understand relationships arising out of element scarcity. The authors comment that:

> "Organizations within any system may be confidently expected to have need for clients, labour and other

> resources, thereby committing them to exchange transactions".[95]

They believe that the interaction pattern arising out of the need for exchange will be affected by the organizational funding, access to outside markets and the degree of domain consensus within the units of the exchange network.

2.8 (b) The Principle of Reciprocity

This principle defines the patterns of reciprocations practised in social exchange. Both Parsons and Homans remain committed to a two-person interaction model at the level of mutual reciprocity, and sociological theory has remained stunted ever since. Reciprocity has meant a two-person interaction model as between Ego and Alter, to use Parsonian terms, or Person and Other, to use Homan's terms. Though Homans did notice the limitation and introduced a third man, this notion has only had a nominal recognition.[96]

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95. Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships", p. 600. There is a marked difference between Weber and Homans in the elucidation of the notion of exchange. Weber states that exchange involves the offer of any sort of utility in exchange for the offer of utility of any sort in return. His use of utility is in the economic sense and it is the utility of the exchanged item that produces exchange. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, p. 170. To Homans it is the psychological make up of persons that acts as an impulse to the exchange process. See Homan's, "Social Behaviour as Exchange", p. 598.

96. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, and Homans, "Social Behaviour as Exchange".

The norms of reciprocity at a preliminary level explain only the persistence of social patterns in terms of their ongoing consequences to the parties to the exchange and the total system. Merton extended this reciprocal relationship slightly further by incorporating the notion of latent functions to demonstrate the persistence of some social patterns inspite of their obvious dysfunctions. By way of illustration, Merton showed how political machines continue to operate despite the fact that they run counter to both the mores and the law. It may be assumed therefore that an organization is more likely to contribute to another which provides it with benefits in return either manifest or latent. But Gouldner points out that there are situations of exchange where there could be an apparent lack of reciprocity on the part of one party. The first situation can be approached in terms of functional autonomy of two organizations relative to one another. For example, organization A may have alternative sources for supplying the services that it normally receives from B whereas organization B, however, may be totally dependent upon A's services and therefore the exchange pattern persists. Secondly, Gouldner's analysis leads one to consider univocal reciprocation as an extension of the two-person mutual reciprocity.[97] By univocal reciprocity is meant that a system of

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97. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement", *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960), pp. 161-178.

social interaction in which, say, A does not expect a direct rewarding activity from B to whom A does not benefit but rather from another individual, say C or Z. This implies, above all, that there is enough trust that the giver will be reciprocated from someone in the future. Thirdly, exchange theory helps us to understand the important situation where power arrangements constrain the continuation of exchange patterns where B, for example, is more powerful than A, and B may force A to benefit it with little or no reciprocity. This we discuss in the next section.

2.8 (c) Exploitation and Power

A merit of Gouldner's essay on reciprocity is his conception of exploitation. In fearing that sociologists would demur at the notion of exploitation, Gouldner coined a substitute term 'reciprocity imbalance'.[98] Blau used Gouldner's term in his analysis of social power but not in the analysis of exploitation. Blau's theory of social power implies that the social change equation always balances between the two sides to the exchange. If A does not have enough to reciprocate B for services rendered, A compensates B by

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98, Ibid., p. 176. One might say that Parsons did point out the fact of exploitation of the patient by the physician. Whilst Parsons is correct in that explanation we must recognize that he failed to see this relationship as but one dramatic case of a larger class of phenomena having theoretical significance. See Parsons, *The Social System*, p. 445.

recognizing B's power over A.[99] Blau's social exchange theory of legitimated power can be reversed by a Marxist into a social exchange theory of exploitation by making the opposite assumptions of inequality that Blau makes. However, the conception of power in terms of univocal reciprocity and generalized exchange, referred to above, lead to a conception of plenitude of power, rather than a sterile zero-sum conception of power.

The analysis of exploitation in terms of univocal reciprocity and generalized exchange operate more on societal mandates than mutual reciprocity; accordingly, power derived from univocal reciprocity may be sanctioned by societal norms justifying inequality. Imbalances in restricted social exchange, as Homans sees it in terms of monogamous marriages, can lead to a break-up of social exchange relations because they make the relations more exploitative.[100] Exploitation and power in the univocal exchange is more subtle. As Gouldner says, Marx saw that:

> "the fault of capitalist exploitation...rests not with the individual capitalist but with the social system that constrains him to exploit or be ruined.[101]

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99. This is similar to Barnard's discussion of surplus satisfactions of a cooperative system. See Chester I. Barnard's *The Functions of the Executive*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 58.

100. Homans, *Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms*, p. 61.

101. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*.

The structure of reciprocity viewed in relation to interorganizational analysis suggests many aspects worthy of investigation. Ideally organizations are set up by the society to ensure that different values which are not completely inconsistent with each other are preserved. Just like punishment and rehabilitation, or freedom of the press and societal morality, or individual liberty and a society free of crime, the society believes in values which are not completely consistent with each other. In order to preserve these values organizations are forbidden to join in a common organization structure. It is suggested, for example, quite rightly, by Nelson that youth probation agencies and police should be kept separate because of conflicting goals.[102]

Organizations have power and use it to secure their objectives. There are many ways in which one could approach organizational power, and power generally. Etzioni used it as a basis for classifying organizations.[103] It would be sufficient to point out that two dimensions of power are critical, the type of power and amount of power. French and Raven have suggested five types of power: (a) expert power of knowledge; (b) referent or

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102. E. K. Nelson, Jr.: "Organizational Disparity in Definitions of Deviance and Uses of Authority: Police, Probation, and the Schools", in *Schools in a Changing Society*, ed., A. J. Reiss, Jr., (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 21-47.

103. See "Theory of Compliance", by Amitai Etzioni, in *A Comparative Reader on Complex Organizations*, Ch. 1, pp. 3-21.

charismatic power; (c) reward or power of inducement; (d) coercive power; and (e) legitimate power.[104] It is likely that interorganizational relationships would differ according to the type of power. The type of relationship encountered can vary depending on whether the focal organization happens to be the initiator or the recipient of interaction. An illustrative representation of possible interactions is shown in Table 2-3.

TABLE 2-3

ILLUSTRATIVE INTEROGANIZATIONAL CONTACTS
BASED ON TYPE OF ORGANIZATION POWER*

Type of Power	Nature of Interorganizational Relations	
	As Initiator	As Recipient
Coercive	An order	Plea for consideration
Legitimate	Directive, proclamation	Request to carry out its mandatory duties
Expert	Professional statement	Request for expert advice
Referent	Threat of "calling out troops"	Request for support as show of strength
Reward	Threat of cutting funds	Request for money and patronage

* For an extended version of interoganizational links, see John E. Tropman, "Conceptional Approach in Interorganizational Analysis", in *Strategies of Community Organizations*, ed., Fred M. Cox, et.al., (Illinois; Peacock Publishers Inc. 1974), pp. 144-58.

104. John P. R. French Jr. and Bertram H. Raven, "The Bases of Social Power in *Group Dynamics*, eds., Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, 2nd Ed., pp. 607-23. Although these authors did not apply these types to formal organizations, it is reasonable to assume their applicability.

The second dimension of power is the quantity of power an organization must muster to achieve its goals. The more power an organization wields in its own category the more it is likely to secure favourable responses from the others no matter how it defines its interaction. An organization does not use all power at all times, but only in situations when the organization members feel strongly about a particular issue. Thus all organizations are constrained to choose the issues when its power ought to be shown. Although it may be generally true that the greater the power the more favourable the facility of interorganizational coordination to some particular organization, there are serious limitations to such indiscriminate use. Many possible observations pertaining to the latter are possible. Suffice to say that it is likely that organizations having similar goals and similar resources will use calculated amounts of power in transactions and those bureaucracies that deal with non uniform tasks, such as welfare, will interact with minimum power.

The techniques used in collaboration will depend upon the amount of power available for use. Coercive power will be applied in sending a memorandum, if the power is high, or through a demonstration, if the power is low. Many issues need a differential use of power depending upon the situation and issues at stake. Organizations may use power with discretion in order to secure favourable responses. Table 2-4 illustrates hypothetical examples from the local context, of types and quantities of power and probable mechanics of interaction.

TABLE 2-4

ILLUSTRATIVE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONTACTS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND AMOUNT OF POWER AND PROBABLE STRATEGY IN EXCHANGE

Type of Power	Amount of Power and Strategy	
	High	Low
Coercive	State Department of Social Welfare Memoranda Directive Legislative Enactment	Council for Single Mother and Child Demonstration Sit in
Legitimate	Tenants Union Use of Court Use of Law	Tasmanian Environment Centre Appeal to a Decent Environment Use of cooperation
Expert	State Strategy Plan Provision of Plans Domain demarcation Development of Standards	Regional Council for Social Development Citation of Dangers Assistance to Disadvantaged Groups Forecasts of Social malaise, anomie, etc.
Referent	Tasmanian Conservation Trust Orchestrating Local Support	Country Women's Association Threats to "call out the troops".
Reward	Foundations Use of Money and Grants	Road Safety Council Ability to aid police in traffic control

2.8 (d) Social Exchange and Social Solidarity

The inadequacies of Homan's exchange theory is its impotent recognition of imbalanced exchanges. Impotent because he does nothing to solve it. Homans at an individualistic level hopes to resolve it by his theory of distributive justice which is a recognition of the legitimacy of inequitous social relations. Social solidarity is derived not from mutual reciprocity but univocal reciprocity.

In Blau and Homans', social solidarity is brought out by actors maximizing their private interests, leading to a contractual solidarity. But in the case of univocal exchange where there are more than two parties to the exchange there is a kind of Durkheimian organic solidarity in basing stable social relations on shared social values. Thus the latter notion rejects the Spencerian contractual solidarity implied in Blau and Homans' theory of social exchange. Social solidarity in interorganizational relationships is reflected in both directions. In inter-agency collaboration there must be a solidarity which extends beyond the lines of inequality as is the case with the generation differences within the family. Where such solidarity can and does exist, it must be created and sustained by some kind of interchange of inputs and outputs between organizations, however asymmetrical they may

be.[105] Therefore, while it is the rational self-interest factor which leads to contractual exchanges in the system, shared social values lead to the other kind of general solidarity.[106] An important factor motivating welfare organizations towards exchange relationships is the trust that the society has placed when the 'experts' engage in welfare. Trust works inside professional boundaries as well as outside. Inside one's own profession there is a trust that spans across organizational domains. It is also in the professional norms of conduct to trust other professions as part of a belief in multi-dimensional professional culture. Both factors are conducive to interorganizational goal achievement and solidarity with social structure.

Also in complex systems, Parsons notes the operationalization of influence as a medium of exchange. The code component of an influence system is prestige.[107] A collective system, such as welfare

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105. To quote an example from the local scene the Centacare-Catholic Family Welfare in their annual report 1977-1978 states that it has "...striven hard to give visible expression to its philosophy of cooperation...submissions have been made on a variety of subjects...(which) have reflected our concern for and participation in the attempt to diminish some of the more detrimental affects so apparent in these problem areas". *Centacare Annual Report*, Centacare, Tasmania, 1977-1978, p. 1.

106. See Rosengren for an interesting analysis of the solidarity between the client and the organization which arises amidst gross inequality in exchange. William R. Rosengren, "The Social Economics of Membership", in *Organizations and Clients* pp. 205-222.

107. Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 17, (1963), pp. 37-62. For further comments see Talcott Parsons, same issue, pp. 63-92.

which tends to maximize the amount of influence in circulation is striving towards greater solidarity in Durkheimian sense. Such solidarity is partly a product of the institutionalization of welfare. Influence is an integrative mechanism, that operates when successful, to integrate on one hand the 'interests' of the various and differentiated member units, and on the other to integrate the collective system which is constituted by their participation.

2.9 The Systemic Analysis

2.9 (a) The Theoretical Orientation

With the publication of Parsons' "The Social System", the word 'system' has remained popular in sociology. Although Parsons used pattern variables as the major analytic tool to approach the system, this is largely forgotten.[108] Buckley attempted to sub-

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108. Parsons, *The Social System*. Parsons' interest in the system is nowhere manifest than in his discussion of social change. In the most uncharacteristic way he remarks that even though ideas are interdependent with other parts of the system, "it is one of the most important results of modern psychological and social science that, except in certain particular areas, ideas and sentiments both on the individual and mass levels are dependent manifestations of deeper lying structures". p. 336. Quite apart from out interest here it is ironical when we think that this formulation is strongly reminiscent of the Marxian formula that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".

stitute system analysis in place of structural functionalism but this has not been quite successful as both orientations make use of similar concepts.[109] One could reasonably argue, however, that system analysis is more inclusive with an accentuation of certain critical elements. System analysis is more concerned with input, throughput and output than it is with structure and performance per se. While the elements of input are more extensive and far reaching than in structural functionalism the accent on throughput is buried in institutional analysis. Most important, the system analysis adds the idea of feedback and the concept of regulatory process.

This final section looks at the existing body of literature as it conceives of the interorganizational arena, not as an interstitial by-product of the interface between two or more organizations but as a system in its own right. A systems analysis yields a set of orientations that describes such global properties characteristic of the total configuration of independent organizations. The analysis concentrates more on conditions external to any one unit under consideration.[110] This review will cover the problem areas

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109. Walter Buckley, *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

110. For a specific analysis on organizational contexts (conventional usage) see Peter M. Blau and Richard A. Schoneherr, "Effects of Community Environment and Organizational Contexts", in *On the Nature of Organizations*, ed. Blau, pp. 280-297.

of structure and process of the interorganization system, the location and the role of the units vis-a-vis other units of the system, and the mechanisms that link the various units of the system.

2.9 (b) Structure of the Interorganizational System

All organizations are part of a social system subjected to a wide variety of environmental pressures, constraints and opportunities. An organization reflects the community structure in which it is placed, thus creating structural differences in the network of which it is a part. Durkheim in a much broader analysis noted that increases in the density of population, transportation, and communication would lead to a shift from mechanical to organic solidarity in interorganizational interaction.[111] There is no systematic effort in the literature to treat the two variables of community structure and organizational systems together although many authors allude to the nature of solidarity of the system, the degree of moral integration, class and racial composition, as some important indicators of the contextual framework for interorganizational activities.[112]

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111. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour.*

112. Regarding moral integration see Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities", in *Cities and Society*, eds. Paul Hatt and E. J. Reiss, (Glencoe: Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp.617-634For class composition and its effect see Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964). Banfield argues that the degree of future-time orientation is a key element in defining upper classes and one that would certainly

Warren takes a more rigorous view of the community context in his discussion of the interorganizational field.[113] The term "field" is used in the Lewinian sense as, "a totality of coexisting forces which are conceived of as mutually interdependent."[114] A key concept in Warren's paper is what he terms as input constituency. He defines it as:

> "the group of parties to which the organization acknowledges a responsibility in determining its policy and program".[115]

There are many dimensions of analyzing this input constituency. The first is whether the focal organization is an independent unit or a part of a larger structure. In the latter case the units would orient their behaviour towards the well-being of the inclusive

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affect interorganizational relationship patterns. Litwak and Hylton argue that as conflicts in communities become bitter and intense, interorganizational relationships suffer. Eugene Litwak and Lydia F. Hylton, "Inter-organizational Analysis: An Hypothesis on Coordination", *Administrative Science Quarterly* 4.4 (March 1962), pp. 395-420.

113. Roland L. Warren: "The Inter-Organizational Field as a Focus for Investigation", in *Truth, Love, and Social Change*, ed., Roland L. Warren, Ch. 11, pp. 180-199.

114. Kurt Levin, *Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers*, (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 240 et passim.

115. Roland L. Warren, "The Interaction of Community Decision Organizations: Some Basic Concepts and Needed Research", *Social Service Review*, 41 (1967), pp. 261-270.

organization rather than towards their own sub-goal. Organizations which are vertically directed, as probation agencies are towards the justice departments, orient their behaviour towards the parent organization. Independent organizations on the other hand, exist in relative isolation when their resource capacity is at a maximum.[116]

The next factor is the density of the field. Density defines the scope of interaction. More precisely, it is important only if resources are concentrated in a few organizations, limiting the interactions only to those organizations. This makes the focal organization isolated from others, curtailing its capacity for new input from outside. Donnison and Chapman in their description of administrative practice draw attention to the determiners of demand as dictating the type of administration.[117] When in an interorganizational system one organization selects the clients for another, that organization dictates the patterns of interaction. (This is once again reflected in the probation systems within the justice departments.) This phenomenon can be described as an impermeability created indirectly, leading to lessen reciprocity

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116. Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships", explain why Veterans Administration Hospitals maintain a certain degree of aloofness from the rest of health and welfare.

117. David Donnison and Valerie Chapman, *Social Policy and Administration*, Ch. 3.

to exchanges initiated by outside organizations. If the client selection is by legislative sanction the service providing organization may be unwilling to undertake extensive programs for a variety of reasons. The personal characteristics of a client population which are culturally devalued will have little public support or the problems of the recipient groups can be caused by factors which are entirely unrelated to factors which determine what kind of welfare services are offered to them. Moreover the determiners of demand will overload the recipient agency to such an extent that it will not be able to maintain reasonable standards of client service. In the case of those organizations which are vertically oriented but nonetheless select their own clientele interorganizational relationships are more frequent.

Evan conceives of the field in terms of an organization-set analogous to Merton's role-set concept.[118] As in the case of the role-set, conflicting demands by members of the organization-set explain: (a) the internal structure of the focal organization: (b) the degree of autonomy in decision-making; (c) effectiveness of goal attainment; (d) flow of information between set members; and (e) dynamics of the system. All in all, the nature of interorgan-

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118. Evan, "The Organization-Set: Towards a Theory of Interorganizational Relations, pp. 173-191.

izational system may well explain the type of coordination, intensity of it and probability of its longevity.

Thompson and McEwen conceive of the organizational system as highly dependent on the environment. They emphasize the interdependence of complex organizations within the larger society and the consequences this has for organizational goal setting. Goal-setting processes as described by them, indicate the relationship of the organization to the larger society, which in turn becomes a question of what the society or elements within it wants done or can be persuaded to support.[119] In so far as goals have an impact on the functioning of organizations the goal setting aspect has its influence on coordinative behaviour. In a general way Emery and Trist extend the systems theory but specifically concentrate on the processes in the environment itself which are the determining conditions of the exchanges. To analyze these, an additional concept--the causal texture of the environment--is introduced. In their simplest type, the placid, randomized environment organizations exist as single units and in the second type which is placid clustered environment organizations grow in size, becoming multiple and tending towards centralized control and coordination. In their third type, a dynamic disturbed reactive

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119. James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment", *American Sociological Review*, 23, (1958), pp. 23-31.

environment, organizations become competitive for resources leading towards controls and coalitions. The final type is the turbulent field, resulting from complexity and multiple character of the causal connections where organizational relationships are delineated on value consensus.[120]

Other structural attributes of the system concern the size of the system and change within the system. It can be argued out that increasing social and demographic size leads to a competition for resources, tending to inter-agency exchanges. Also the amount of change occuring within a particular system is one external dimension that impacts onthe exchange propensity of organizations.

Burns and Stalker suggested that the certainty of information or knowledge of events in the environment affected organizational practices. They called such stable environments "mechanistic", as opposed to uncertain environments. Systems built in stable environments display strikingly different properties to that of dynamic environments.[121] The terms "mechanistic", and "organic" resemble closely the concepts used by Durkheim to describe two styles of societal integration. Because of the essence of Durkheimian

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120. F. E. Emery and E. L. Trist, "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments", *Human Relations*, 18, (1965), pp. 21-31.

121. Tom Burns and G. M. Stalker, *The Management of Innovation*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1961).

approach is to focus on the relationship between individuals, many of the characteristics of the organic and mechanistic models represent variables in communication and interaction. The former system is rich in horizontal interaction, whereas the latter has a high degree of vertical interaction. Whilst this approach only partly explains the system as a whole it has nonetheless great value in conceptualizing many intraorganizational dynamics as well.

2.9 (c) Process

It was Von Bertalanffy who, in terms of the general transport equation which he introduced, first fully disclosed the importance of openness or closeness of the environment as a means of distinguishing living organisms from inanimate objects.[122] Unlike physical objects, living entities survive by importing inputs from the environment, transforming them and exporting them back, thus gaining a necessary condition of adaptability to environmental variance. Katz and Kahn elaborate on this approach as it applies to organizations so that it brings out the nature of differing organizational environments and the nature of an organizational dependency on the environment.[123]

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122. L. von Bertalanffy, "The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology", *Science*, 3 (1950), pp. 23-29.

123. D. Katz and R. L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, (Glencoe, Illinois: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), Ch. II et. passim.

Open systems import some form of energy from the external environment. These may be resources, clients, or manpower and technical knowledge. Once the energy is procured the organization works on the material. This means perfecting a special technology and legitimating a special role. This can lead to meshing with other organizations or isolation from other organizations, depending on the task. Hasenfeld claims that "people processing organizations", a particular variant of the welfare organization, must develop direct and systematic links with external recipient units or markets in order to sell the output. For example, an employment placement agency's effectiveness is measured largely by its ability to classify and refer applicants to potential employers whose responses will agree with the conferred status.[124] It is assumed that under norms of rationality such organizations will try to develop systems sensitive to the needs of their market units in order to optimize the units marketability of its output.

Hasenfeld also claims that on the other hand 'people changing organizations' tend to specialize in a unique technology in such a fashion so as to insulate themselves from boundary

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124. Yaheskel Hasenfeld, "People Processing Organizations: An Exchange Approach", *American Sociological Review*, 37, (June, 1972), pp. 256-263; Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, pp. 37-44.

transactions, thereby reducing the need for interorganizational relationships.[125] Table 2-5 illustrates his two types of welfare organizations.

TABLE 2-5

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEOPLE PROCESSING ORGANIZATIONS AND PEOPLE CHANGING ORGANIZATIONS

Variable	People Processing	People Changing
Throughput	Classification and Disposition	Resocialization
Locus of Technology	Organizational Boundaries	Organizational Centre
Output	Altered Status	Behaviour Change

Output transactions of a welfare organization of the people processing kind could be the clients referred to the other agencies or back to the community as normal persons. Clients are referred as inputs to other organizations when the focal organization considers

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125. Wheeler describes a situation where resocialization agencies tend to cut them off from their environments as the intensity of the change effort increases so that they may command the totality of recruits time and energy for the desired outcome. However, too much separation from the outside world can result in a 'reality shock', and therefore there is always a need for some degree of balance. See Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings", p. 80.

the problem as needing resources external to it or when the client is considered as unsuitable to use its resources to his advantage. It is unusual for an agency to use another organization which has the same technology and resources to service clients without compromising the prestige and uniqueness of its own.

2.9 (d) Location and Role of Units vis-a-vis Other Units

Rothman and Litwak pointed out that the dividing line between interorganizational and intraorganizational systems is quite unclear, and that the systems are perhaps best regarded as a continuum.[126] Generally, one could hypothesize that the most successful contact on interorganizational basis would result from using that mechanism which has the same character as the organization to be contacted. If one is to contact a formal organization, then a formal approach would be most appropriate; similarly, if one were to seek out an informally structured organization, an informal, personal approach would be reasonable.

We should also not forget that the usual cry of too little interaction has its counterpart--too close relationships. What then, one may ask, is the proper distance between units? It might be fair to conjecture that the closer two organizations are to one another

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126. Litwak and Rothman, "Towards the Theory and Practice of Coordination Between Formal Organizations", pp. 138-139.

the more likely it is that one will be dominated by the other. The superordinate one is likely to be the one with more resources. Thus organizations in the system try to develop multiple dependencies, reducing crucial dependencies to a minimum.

As discussed previously under the concept of exchange, there is always a scarcity either in absolute terms or in distributive terms of some resource. Yet organizations wish to retain an area of space, time or function which everyone "agrees" belongs to a certain organization. It is the right and the prerogative of that organization. Levine and White remark that:

> "The domain of an organization consists of the specific goals it wishes to pursue and the functions it undertakes in order to implement its goals".[127]

In the field of health the domain can be the disease covered, population serviced, or services rendered. In probation it is the age of the client or the legally specific wrongdoing. In child welfare it is the moral concerns or societal values.

Within the system, a clear demarcation of domains is highly desirable. If similar services are offered by two agencies and both agencies vie for clients, staff personnel may decry the wasteful duplication of services unless domain consensus is

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127. Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships", p. 597.

achieved on some kind of scientific or even perhaps an arbitrary boundary. Controversy occurs when an organization's domain is infiltrated or questioned. Some domains are desirable and it is necessary to ensure that such domain rights are sustained in order to maintain a balance. Thus problematic clients are "referred" to the proper domain, because the existence of that domain, perhaps, is essential to the viability of the total system.

2.9 (e) Interorganizational Linkage Mechanisms

The pattern of activity of the energy exchange has a cyclic character. The product exported to the environment furnishes the energy in order to complete the cycle. Similarly the pattern of activities is interrelated in a cyclical way. That interrelatedness is sustained by linking mechanisms. Table 2-6 illustrates the formality levels of linkages varying with the size and number of organizations.

The size and number of organizations is an important independent variable in the linkage process. Large numbers of organizations go in for formalistic modes. Moreover, the variable "Number of organizations" stresses an important aspect of formality. Organizational links must be externally visible in order to be effective. Related to the same fact is the social morphology of the community; as one moves into larger cities regulations tend to guide all agency instructions.

TABLE 2-6

LINKAGES IN ORGANIZATIONS

Number and Size	Nature of Task	
	High Specificity	Low Specificity
Many and/or large organization	Rules (Formalized) e.g., Social Service Directory, giving eligibility requirements for benefit, etc.	Coordinating Bodies e.g., Community Councils Homeless Persons Committees Councils on the Ageing
Small and few	Internal rules for staff members	1) Ad hoc case conference of welfare staff personnel; 2) Joint staff meetings; 3) Periodic meetings of Executives.

The basic theoretical element behind the emphasis on the number of organizations is the assumption that the more units there are to contact, the more complex the process becomes. Yet one can argue quite rightly that even if there are only a few units but a multiplicity of contacts, then the initiating and the receiving organizations are faced with a problem. There is a possible convertibility between size and multiplicity of contacts because of similar cause-effect relationships. However, the extent of convertibility has to be empirically observed. Table 2-7 illustrates a hypothetical interrelationship between the two variables and possible effects on the types of linkages.

TABLE 2-7

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS AND NUMBER OF CONTACTS WITH POSSIBLE LINKING MECHANISMS

Number of Interactions	Number of Organizations	
	Few	Many
Few	Adhoc Arrangement	Regularized Meetings between Executives
Many	Delegate Personnel to Liaise	Formalized Policy Externalized Coordinated Body

2.10 Summary

In this chapter interorganizational coordination has been treated as incorporating different types of relationships between organizations which are predominantly facilitative. The literature on human service organizations has been reviewed by organizing it under a framework for the study of collectives. Authors who have discussed individual attributes as making up an organization's character were classed under the analytic dimension; authors whose writings examine the structures of organizations and their bearing on coordination were classed under structural dimension, and writings on environmental influences, boundary relations and coordinating linkages were discussed under global dimension. The

classification of literature into a threefold system has been made to bring some order and clarity into the review as well as to guide future investigations. This has two goals--to provide a picture of the area of interorganizational coordination and to do so in a way as to be of use in identifying the relevant variables that can be used by social researchers. Obviously there was overlap between some variables and at this stage it cannot be expected to aim at mutual exclusivity. In the next chapter the hitherto existing empirical work on this topic will be summarized in a systematic form to help the clarification of variables, formulation of hypotheses and also the operationalization of the important variables so that research into interorganizational coordination will be systematically conducted.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS A THEORY OF COORDINATION

3.1 Building a Typology of Variables

The main purpose of the previous chapter has been not merely to present an exhaustive review of the literature or a compilation of findings pertaining to each source, but rather to find the underlying theoretical concepts in relation to the area of coordination. Specific emphasis has been given to the field of social welfare for it is asserted that any theory of organizational behaviour that explains service organizations should have greater validity than one which explains the issues and problems only of 'rational bureaucracies'. It is not surprising that service organizations have benefitted marginally from the science of management and other sophisticated management tools such as operations research and management information systems. Whenever management theory has been beneficial, it has been felt in the routine and the peripheral aspects of welfare organizations. Just as any theory of deviance that takes the 'deviant' as its prime focus explains social organization better, it is argued that behaviour of service organizations should throw better insights into the workings of all formal organizations.

In this study the term 'theory' will not so much have the meaning of a set of interconnected hypotheses about interorganizational relations which can be rejected or validated by empirical research. Rather, and more particularly, it will mean concepts, problem areas, and general sociological orientations, developed within a scientific frame of reference.

An indefinitely large number of discussions of scientific method have laid down the logical steps in the scientific process but it is apparent that these discussions rest on such a high level of abstraction that the prospect of translating them into usable aspects of sociological research is minimal. Although, in the long run, sociology must meet these requirements, in the immediate future the task is to express these requirements in a manner that is in line with the empirical work that is currently done. As an idealized account of what occurs in the natural sciences and could perhaps occur in the social sciences there is not a great deal of harm in adhering to the strict process of the scientific method, although even in the natural sciences actual research tends to be carried rather differently.[1] In the area of sociology that we are interested in, the state of theoretical development is such that research should embark on two equally important tasks. We should concentrate more on the theory generation, rather than theory testing,

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1. See, for example, J. D. Watson, *The Double Helix*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968).

which is well argued by Glaser and Strauss in what they call 'grounded theory'.[2] Secondly, we should proceed to make inductive inferences from the data which is definitely not a plea for 'mindless empiricism'. It is the intention here to move in that direction.

Accordingly, this chapter will attempt to facilitate our thinking about the area of interorganizational coordination by refining the variables that seemed to emerge in the literature discussed in the previous chapter. There are many reasons as to why we should concentrate on refining and operationalizing the variables prior to asserting relationships between the variables. Proper definition of variables makes classifications more subtle. Because any variable can have a wide variety of connotations, proper identification leads to better formulation of hypotheses. For example, the concept of profession can mean, the service ideal to some, a certain kind of training, or even licensing. Hypotheses likely to be true for one can not be true for the other. In operationalizing a variable there should be steady movement away from simplicity and crudity toward complexity and subtlety. Cassirer illustrated this by the example of moving away from all matter to, living organism, to mammal, and finally to man.[3] The

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2. B. G. Glaser and A. L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, (Chicago: Aldine, 1964).

3. Ernest Cassirer, *Substance and Function*, trans., W. Swabey and M. Swabey, (New York: Dover, 1953).

adequate definition of a variable, whilst limiting the scope of the phenomenon, directs attention to how it relates to other concepts. In so doing we move toward finding a number of continua and a much more complex description. It is possible then to precisely measure and describe the area that falls within the variable. It is easy to demonstrate that by reducing errors thus, we increase the validity of hypotheses that assert correlations between any two variables.

In order to achieve this purpose, the three types of properties discussed, namely, analytic, structural, and global, in the previous chapter will be cross classified with the four basic dimensions that characterize social structures. The four basic dimensions are common to all forms of social organizations. In selecting the dimensions 'one searches for continua that have the same generality and do not overlap'. These basic dimensions are knowledge, power, rules, and rewards. In working out the basid dimensions it was noted that in sociology there is no universal agreement as to what basic elements constitute any social system. However, in the accumulative work of sociologists certain analytic components of interaction have been consistently used such as knowledge, norms, status, ranks, power, facility, ends or goals, and sanctions. One cannot disagree that further additions and distinctions are possible. It was decided to concentrate on these four aspects of knowledge, power, rules and rewards for it can be

reasonably argued that they substantially cover the important elements of all social systems. These should satisfy both groups of organizational theorists--the organicists and rationalists. By a reading of the organizational literature it will be seen that organicists have promoted the values of social stability, cohesion and integration whereas the rationalists such as Simon and Barnard have highlighted rule governed purposeful action, rewards, and controls. Hage has used these four basic dimensions in order to build theories by identifying the variables at the proper level of analysis. In this chapter Hage's classification of social systems has been followed as a useful device.[4]

In our analysis, dimensions define the quantities of each variable which are capable of variation and measurement separately. The proper classification of the variable helps the development of better theory in the long run. Taken together these four basic dimensions help us to arrange many, if not all variables into a typology of system coordinates to properly

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4. Jerald Hage, *Techniques and Problems in Theory Construction in Sociology*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972). pp. 120-121. The elements of organizations as highlighted by organicists and rationalists are seen in Wolin's critique of organizational theories. See Wolin, *Politics and Vision*, pp. 407-414.

conduct research into interorganizational coordination as well as to codify the existing empirical generalizations. Codification implies the orderly, disciplined reflection of what has already been discovered by scientific investigators. By such a systematic arrangement many fruitful lines of inquiry can be initiated.

In interorganizational relations the themes of knowledge, power, rights or norms, and rewards have become prominent. In this chapter we will combine the dimensions with the three types of properties. Where appropriate, additional variables other than those discussed in the previous chapter will be specified to indicate areas where further research may be conducted.

3.2 Basic Dimensions and Analytic Properties

In Table 3-1 Cells one and two demonstrate that the input of knowledge in an organization is carried through by its operative personnel. Hage and Aiken found that professional training and professional activity measure two different properties and in relation to interorganizational activity can be easily distinguished.[5]

Cells three and four classify the power residing in individuals within an organization. A distinction is once again

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5. Jerald Hage and Michael Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties: A Comparative Analysis", *American Journal of Sociology*, 72 (March 1967), pp. 503-519).

drawn between personal power and officially distributed formal power. This is justified for the reasons that were discussed in the previous chapter for it is hypothesized that informal power contributes to coordination activity whereas formal power has only partial association.

TABLE 3-1

CLASSIFICATION OF ANALYTIC PROPERTIES IN TERMS OF FOUR BASIC DIMENSIONS

Basic Dimension		Individual Property	Definition
Knowledge	1	Professional Training	Distribution of Knowledge Among Social Positions
	2	Professional Activity	Distribution of Extra Organizational Professional Activity
Power	3	Influence and Persuasion	Distribution of Informal Power
	4	Autonomy in Decisions	Distribution of Formal Power
Rules/Norms	5	Ideology and Values	Distribution of Private Orientations Toward Tasks
Rewards	7	Investment/Commitment	Distribution of Private Gains by way of Job Satisfaction, etc.
	8		

Cells 5 and 6 cross classify norms and ideologies. Available empirical evidence does not suggest that either the ideology or the values have a definite positive association as is suggested by the prescriptive writings of authors such as Kahn. In point of fact Barth and Miller find that ideology is in effect an impediment to the development of interagency collaboration.[6]

The last cross classification is between rewards and investment or commitment. This has little or no empirical data to evidence its import. The commitment of a person is important in the study of occupational careers of people. Becker used it to explain occupational behaviours that persist over a period of time.[7] Commitment if related to consistent activity will not mean that if acted otherwise the person will be punished. To be useful in empirical and theoretical work it seems convenient to refer to 'involvement', 'obligation', 'attachment', and the like to define commitment. The difficulty will be to define these terms precisely in order to maintain the full range of evocative meanings they have acquired in everyday discourse.

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6. See Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning;* Barth, "The Causes and Consequences of Inter-Agency Conflict", pp. 51-56. Miller, "Interorganizational Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention", pp. 20-23.

7. Howard S. Becker, *Sociological Work,* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 261-275.

This concept is only useful, however, if it can be shown that a person engages in a consistent line of activity due to reasons known or unknown to the person himself. Consistent activity alone would be no definition of commitment; in fact, it will be tautological to presume so. The manner in which this variable can influence or detract from behaviour leading to exchanges with other organizations will obviously vary from each individual encounter to the next.

One of the most alluring qualities of this analytic property is its double reference to the individual and the collective matrix. In Sociology, Psychology, and Anthropology, the same phenomena are discussed under the most overworked of concepts--the role. The theory of organizations focuses directly upon the collective unit and therefore little interest is shown in the individual member, or at least in the relevance of psychology to individual performance. This is reflected in the Weberian theory of bureaucracy and all studies conducted in that tradition, such that Gouldner has said:

> "Indeed, the social scene described has sometimes been so completely stripped of people that the impression is unintentionally rendered that there are disembodied social forces afoot, able to realize their ambition apart from human action."[8]

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8. Gouldner, "Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy", p. 16. Insistently, sociology has sought to distinguish itself from the neighbouring sciences, especially psychology mainly because of its concern over method. This obviously is a dominant characteristic of positivist sociology.

Even Merton discounted its importance when he projected the organization as an organism that either selects congenial personalities or makes over the recalcitrant ones to suit its own needs. He says:

> "It would seem, therefore, that officials not initially suited to the demands of bureaucratic position, progressively undergo modifications of personality".[9]

Indeed, the weakness of such theorizing is the failure to grasp the not too infrequent case where members who, because of personal values, work towards structural change.

Cells 2 and 4 in Table 3-1 are distinguished from Cells 6 and 8 in one respect. The former refer to social position whereas the latter two refer to the concept of role. This is quite different to the unitary conception of role in sociological literature. Cells 2 and 4 are intended to be external to the individual whose role is being examined. They are the situational pressures, organizationally given role demands, professional standards that confront him as the occupant of a given structural position. The structural requirements for any position as a rule are defined with a high degree of explicitness, clarity and consensus. Yet there may be major differences or even contradictions between official norms, as defined by administrative charter and the personal norms held by different groups within the

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9. Robert K. Merton, et.al., eds., *Reader on Bureaucracy*, (Glencoe: Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 352.

organization.[10]

Cells 6 and 8 refer specifically to personal role definition, or put otherwise, individual's adaptations within a particular organization or system of organizations. The personal role definition may have varying degrees of fit with the structurally given role requirements. It may serve in many ways to maintain or change the social structure. It may involve a high or low degree of commitment and personal involvement on the part of the individual.

In point of fact the formulation of hypotheses relating Cells 6 and 8 to interorganizational behaviour will remain seriously impaired if we fail to place it, analytically, in both interpersonal and structural environmental contexts. That is to say, we must be concerned with the meaning of role definition both for the individual personality and for the social system. As Levinson mentioned some time ago:

> "A given role definition is influenced by, and has influence upon, the 'Psyche' as well as 'Socius'."[11]

One typical situation envisaged would be that role requirements can become very rigidly defined by the profession, as that of

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10. One of the striking research findings in this regard is the lack of consensus regarding the proper role of nurse in the hospital organizations. See C. Argyris, *Human Relations in a Hospital*, (New Haven: Labour and Management Centre, 1955); and more recently, Carol Taylor, *In Horizontal Orbit*.

11. Daniel J. Levinson, "Role, Personality, and Social Structure in the Organizational Setting", *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 58, (1959), pp. 170-180.

the physicians that only one form of role performance be sustained for the position of social welfare worker. An organization or a profession of this type will therefore selectively recruit and retrain only individuals who, either because of personality or because of selective socialization, find the system gratifying and meaningful. Or, alternatively, organizations can in their definitions of goals become very demanding such that incongruent members change their role conceptions to fit the structural requirements.

The point to be stressed is that this analysis is opposed to the 'sociologizing' of individual behaviour and to the 'psychologizing' of social structure. In proper sociological theory building one has to be concerned with both the psychological properties of social structure and the structural properties of individual adaptation. This is a challenging task for organizational theory.

3.3 Basic Dimensions and Structural Properties

In organizational literature structural properties are the most researched of all. The main reason is the structural-functional orientation of many theoretical approaches and, secondly, the major concern of research is with intraorganizational behaviour. It will not be the purpose here to repeat the relevance of structural properties to interorganizational activity except to clearly identify the meanings of the variables.

In Table 3-2 we classify the structural properties in terms of the four basic dimensions. Cell 2 has been amply documented in the

literature by Hage and Aiken, Blau, and Lawrence and Lorsch, whose works were discussed in the previous pages. [Ch. 2, (2.6c)]

For conceptual clarity there are two basic ways in which tasks are broken down. The first is to give highly trained specialists a rather comprehensive range of activities to perform. This occupational differentiation defined as complexity by Jerald Hage measures the "specialization in an organization..., number of occupations and the longer period of training required".[12] It is a structural attribute that Hage and others see as influencing the nature and intensity of interorganizational relationships. The second is the less complicated vertical differentiation or proliferation of supervisory levels. A relatively deep hierarchy concentrates power at the top and consequently there is a tendency towards centralization and control leading to less intensive and less frequent attempts at interorganizational contacts.[13]

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12. Jerald Hage, "An Axiomatic Theory of Organizations", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10:3 (December 1965), p. 294. It will be apparent that the validity of a cross tabulation as the one proposed here is because it avoids the pitfalls of confusion that arise when a particular property is treated at more than one level. For example, Lawrence and Lorsch in their significant study combine the structural property of differentiation with the attitudes and orientations on the part of members in differentiated departments. It becomes quite difficult then to relate a dependent variable to the independent variable of complexity at a structural level or at an individual (analytic) level. See Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorsch, *Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration*, (Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1967).

13. D. S. Pugh, et.al., "Dimensions of Organizational Structure, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 13:1 (June, 1968), 72-74, 78-79.

The structure of power (Cells 3 and 4) is explicitly discussed by many researchers due mainly to its importance in interorganizational behaviour. It has also been the critical variable for writers such as Crozier who argue with typical cogency that the distribution of power is the most important structural coordinate.[14]

In Cell 4 decision making is a neglected variable which needs some comment here. Organizational theorists have long been concerned with processes in single organizations. They have asked: Who determines goals and policies? What are the issues around which decisions are made and within what time perspective? What factors do cross the minds of decision makers?

Decision theory, as is described in the literature, is mainly prescriptive. The 'rational' decision making process is described with precision with the aid of mathematical models, simulations and games. Important steps to the process are set out, identifying goals and priorities, generating alternative methods of goal achievement, weighing the validity and effectiveness of alternatives and choosing the best alternative.

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14. Michel Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 109. He shows how the departments in the tobacco firms were in a constant power struggle with the maintenance men holding power in the production process making supervisors and other departments essentially helpless. Mouzelis observes that "the group which by its position in the occupational structure can control the *unregulated* area has a great strategic advantage", Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Organization and Bureaucracy*, (London: Routledge, 1968), p. 160 (italics mine).

TABLE 3-2

CLASSIFICATION OF STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES IN TERMS OF FOUR BASIC DIMENSIONS

Basic Dimension	Structural Property	Definition
1 Knowledge	2 Structural Differentiation	Distribution of Levels in the Hierarchy
	Occupational Differentiation	Distribution of Occupational Specialities in the Organization
3 Power	4 Age	Origin, History and Current State
	Hierarchy	Distribution of Formal Power Among Positions
	Centralized Decision-Making	Measure of Participation in Decision-Making
	Focus of Clients	Scope or Range of Client's Attributes of Careers
5 Norms/ Rules	6 Job Codification	Number of Regulations, who is to do what, when and where
	Job Specificity	Who is doing what, where and how
7 Rewards	8 Goal Achievement	Performance of the Entire Organization

Recent developments in the theory of decision process have been more descriptive rather than prescriptive. Such theory is concerned with the ways in which people actually make decisions, and tries to identify the factors that inhibit people from making rational decisions. The main theme of this school is that in reality no decisions are purely rational but, rather, they are processes of mutual adjustment based on political expedience and 'sunk costs'. Simon noted that man's 'bounded rationality' that is, the ability to see beyond the immediate future and other personal considerations, and the 'satisficing' element in decision behaviour, where change and innovation occur when previous modes of behaviour are no longer satisfactory, as the major constraints in the way of rational decision making.[15]

Decision making is of doubtless importance to inter-organizational relationships. In the interorganizational field the issues which require decisions are no different from the situations within organizations. For example, the questions might be: Given the need for a particular service, are coordinated efforts more productive than individual ones? If so, "Which organizations should join together and at what costs of autonomy?", "What is the optimal

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15. Herbert A. Simon, *The New Science of Management Decisions*, (New York: Harper, 1960).

level of trade-offs?", "What resources are needed?", or "What clients should be referred?"

The cross classification of rules with structure has provided the variable of formalization, which is made up of job codification and job specificity. With the research of Hage and Aiken they have become familiar. This only illustrates the debt to Max Weber and his model of bureaucracy and later to Talcott Parsons for his elaboration of rules and procedures as one of the more important facts about organizations. Parsons' analyses of industrial bureaucracy are of sufficient importance to be quoted in full.

> "...with elaborate differentiation of functions the need for minute coordination of the different functions develops at the same time....There must be a complex organization of supervision to make quite sure that exactly the right thing is done. Feeding the various parts to the process, in such a way that a modern assembly line can operate smoothly, requires very complex organizations to see that they are available in just the right quantities at the right times and places....One of the most important phases of this process is concerned with the necessity for formalization when certain points of complexity are reached...."[16]

3.4 Basic Dimensions and System Properties:*

3.4 (a) Control Process Variables

There is a digression here from the pattern followed in the

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16. Parsons, *The Social System*, pp. 507-508. (italics mine)

* The variables are dichotomized into two categories: those that pertain to the maintenance of the organizational system in a steady state and those variables that enhance and develop the organizational system beyond the current level of functioning--a necessary attribute of social systems.

previous contingency tables in individual variable analysis. Here the emphasis is centered on the total welfare system as one unit and seeks to identify elements of the interorganizational set that contribute to the functioning of the total system as a steady state. The concepts of the steady state and dynamic homeostasis are borrowed from Katz and Kahn.[17] The control process variables in the following table 3-3 have been derived from the concepts common to systems analysis which have been discussed in general terms in the previous chapter under global properties.

According to the open system theory, open systems strive to arrest entropy, by a continuous inflow of energy from the external environment. In adapting to the environment, systems will attempt to cope with external forces by ingesting them or acquiring control over them. Unlike the single organism whose physical boundedness limits control only to the behavioural system rather than the biological system of the individual, social systems, however, will move towards growth and expansion that we discuss separately.

Table 3-3 attempts to cross classify the controls exerted by the system in terms of the basic dimensions in so far as they relate to maintain a steady state. Cells 1 and 2 show the main ingredients of system properties which are communications and feedback. The two variables are related to the dimension of knowledge. In a feedback process there are two types of variables that are connected by information. Hage calls these two types of variables

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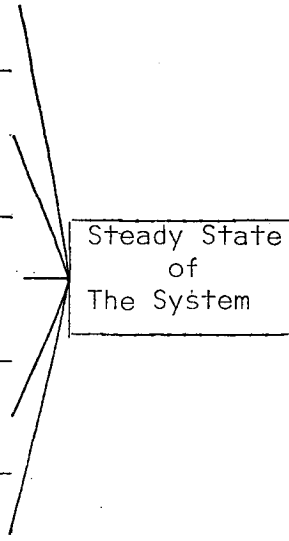
17. Katz and Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, Ch. 2. Homeostasis connotes the tendency for an organism to return to a state of rest that is tension free, a state which denies growth and creativity. Steady state captures the way systems cope with and manage disruptive simuli coming from internal or external sources. We are using the concepts of steady state, homeostasis interchangeably whereas some authors note important differences in these concepts. In the social work literature, Goldstein

TABLE 3-3

CLASSIFICATION OF SYSTEM PROPERTIES (CONTROL PROCESS VARIABLES) IN TERMS OF FOUR BASIC DIMENSIONS HYPOTHESIZING A STEADY STATE

Basic Dimension	System Property (Control Process Variable)
1 Knowledge	2 Communications Information Feedback
3 Power	4 Sanctions Rewards and Punishments
5 Rules/ Norms	6 Conformity
7 Rewards	8 Consensus



action variables and signal variables. Signal variables monitor strains and action variables change as a consequence.[18] In inter-organizational coordination, for example, a refusal to service a referred client by a member of an organization-set can trigger either an increase in communication or perhaps a use of coercion by a member organization in order to bring about a balance. This is

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17. makes explicit the differences in the use of these concepts to a case example. See H. Goldstein, *Social Work Practice: A Unitary Approach*, (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 115-116.

18. Hage, *Techniques and Problems of Theory Construction in Sociology*, p. 210.

the adjustment feedback process in systems theory. In this instance, the output signal has created an input action.

In Cells 5 and 6 the interaction of rules with the concept of conformity suggests the idea of organizations obeying orders and rules as arising from the system rather than one particular organization. This may be understood as the 'ethos' in which a particular welfare system operates. As referred to earlier in the distinction between 'institutional welfare' and 'residual welfare', the external ethos can guide the system. For example, when welfare is conceived on the basis of attributed need, the problem of unmet need is considered a normal occurence attributable to system inadequacies. Under such conditions client eligibility will be determined according to an organic status such as citizen, child, working mother, resident, and the like, rather than on the basis of a condition determined by a detailed examination of individual characteristics. On the other end of the continuum where means-tested need is used as the allocative principle, the problem will be considered as arising out of a deficiency of the individual who is unable to earn an income adequate to satisfy all his needs. Whatever the conception of welfare that is operative at a particular time in history, it can have a differential effect on the system. One may then explain a lack of agreement or a mild confusion of the role of welfare in a society as generating a conflict, thus disequilibrating the steady state.

There is also another possibility of conformity imposed from outside on the organization. Considerable socialization for organizational roles may be accomplished outside the particular organization in which the actor is to function. Colleges produce future social workers and socialization is done there. Or, this normative orientation may come from outside sources such as political systems, cultural systems, and so on.

The cross classification of rewards with consensus directs attention to organizational functions as well as resources. Systems with a high degree of consensus can be expected to have more satisfying cooperative interactions within the system boundaries. Those with a low degree of consensus enter into competition so as to legitimize their special sphere of competence. A new organization trying to enter an area where there is moderate domain consensus can be flexible in order to secure a place for its operations.

3.4 (b) Performance Variables

In adapting to the new environment a social system will operate to acquire more energy than is required for its output as a normal reaction to prevent negative entropy. Organizations tend to build up resources well beyond their needs by adaptation, innovation and programme change. Innovations seem to come as cross fertilization of ideas o knowledge. For example, Hage and Aiken show that highly complex organizations encourage joint programmes outside organizational

boundaries in order to expand their domains.[19] (Cells 1 and 2 in Table 3-4).

In so far as a system is composed of functionally autonomous parts, it possesses certain potentialities for change, or responses to tensions. (Cells 3 and 4) Gouldner has introduced the concept of de-differentiation in situations described above.[20] It means surrendering higher levels of integration so as to allow sub-parts of the organization to structure a separate system as it wishes. It is interesting to note that de-differentiation indicates that autonomy of sub-parts may not only be conducive to alleviating system tensions but also provide a basis for extending the scope of the system. Indeed, we have demonstrated that the functional autonomy of the parts of the welfare system, allowing as it does for the formation of primary-group type interactions at operative levels outside normal rigid bureaucratic lines can be functional to the integrity of the welfare system. The lower participants being highly specialized in their respective activities enjoy relatively considerable autonomy which then is not an unmitigated source of difficulty for the system. It provides a defensive strategy of last

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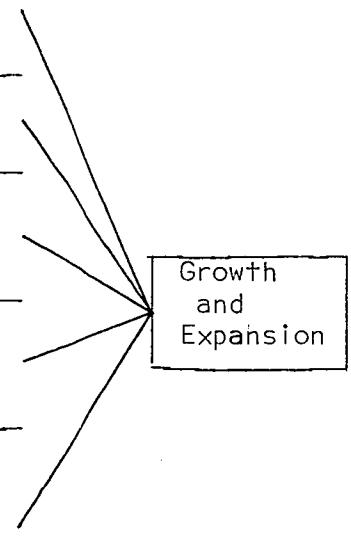
19. Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties: A Comparative Analysis".

20. Alvin W. Gouldner "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory", in *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, Llewellyn Gross, ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 263.

TABLE 3-4

CLASSIFICATION OF SYSTEM PROPERTIES (PERFORMANCE VARIABLES) IN TERMS OF FOUR BASIC DIMENSIONS

Basic Dimension		System Properties Relating To Performance
1 Knowledge	2	Innovation, Programme Change
3 Power	4	De-differentiation Tension Maintenance
5 Rules/ Norms	6	Morale Alienation
7 Rewards	8	Resource Effectiveness Goal Achievement Consensus



resort to questions of power within a welfare system. One can extend the same reasoning to understand the variable of power as exerted by other groups, political or economic and the system property of de-differentiation as a tension releasing mechanism as well as a strategy that leads to the creation of allied but separate sub-parts of the system thus creating extensions to the system. These newer parts, however autonomous they may be, are compelled to stay within the system by building networks of coordination. So we have the familiar example of the Australian Assistance Plan constituted and

run by persons who are functionaries of the subparts within the existing system.

Another perspective of structural de-differentiation is its importance in identifying the loci of strain in a system. In social systems analysis, then, it would be obvious that the most autonomous roles within a sub-unit may be a valuable point of departure for the analysis of strains within that system. In this structural solution of de-differentiation, especially in a welfare system, considerable political arguments can be generated in society which can be beneficial to the efficient performance of the system. For example, Women's Shelters--a process of de-differentiation--whilst creating tremendous turbulence calls for better utilization of welfare funds, evaluation of existing services, 'a shot-in-the-arm' to the whole system. These lead to coordinating behaviour whilst not discounting the possibility of negative efforts, which is not within the scope of the present thesis.

In the analysis of complex organizations Katz and Kahn defined organizational effectiveness as "the maximum return to the organization by all means".[21] In Cell 8, resource effectiveness refers to the same variable not as an attribute of any particular

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21. Katz and Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, p. 170.

organization but rather of the system. Though this variable appears self evident it is analytically important. Resource effectiveness does not necessarily indicate any semblance of a maximizing intent which can become inversely related to interorganizational activity. Yutchman and Seashore take the view that maximization, even if possible from the viewpoint of one organization, may risk an organization's survival, since the exploited environment may become so depleted as to be unable to produce further resources.[22] Exploitative organizations also create hostile opposition that may weaken the bargaining position, thus weakening the total welfare system.

Therefore, resource effectiveness is at the highest when the organizations optimize their resource position. Beyond that point it endangers itself either because of stimulating opposition or by depleting its resources-producing environment. This variable needs further refinement and definition and it might be necessary to: 1) provide a taxonomy of resources; 2) identify the different types of resources that are mutually needed for the organizations under study; 3) measure the demands of particular organizations for the declared resource.

The interdependence between the organizations and the environment take the form of input-output transactions of service and

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22. Yutchman and Seashore, "A System Resource Approach", p. 901.

valued resources. The cross tabulation of rewards and consensus can provide many hypotheses for empirical study. Value of resources, for example, is to be derived from their utility as generalized means for organizational activity, rather than from their attachment to some specific goal of one particular organization. Competition for scarce and valued resources may occur under different social settings in different social forms, and is a continuous process underlying the emergence of a universal hierarchical differentiation among social welfare organizations.[23] From this point a further extension of hypotheses is possible. As stated in the previous chapter, the differential amounts of success of organizations in regard to their bargaining capacity suggests data as to the exploitative nature of the bargaining relationships in the system. Asymmetry in a relationship suggests the possibility of an instability in the social order. What then is considered a success from one organization's point of view (a high bargaining capacity) becomes dysfunctional from the system's point of view. This incidentally is the utility of a typology that separates out the different categories of individual properties. What is manifestly or latently rewarding in one property can have negative results in the other. The cautious

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23. Competition will lead to better appreciation of the total welfare system if carried out in the interest of the client and total society. Such competition leads to resource effectiveness and it is a system property so long as it is done as one cohesive unit. Such competition leads to coordination and the competition between units in the tertiary education system is a familiar example. These systems coordinate their activities in ways which are mutually beneficial and the consequence is achievement of overall objectives and community support.

remarks made about reductionism at the beginning of the review of literature become strikingly noticeable in these circumstances.

3.5 General Notes Regarding the Typology

The typology of properties as they bear on the inter-organizational activity was intended as a synthesis of material covered in Chapter Two. Its advantage is in the arranging of variables according to major dimensions so that we may better appreciate their interrelationships and lead to a better conceptualization of a complex interorganizational system. It will be apparent from the typology that researchers have been preoccupied with the knowledge and power dimensions of organizational systems but neglected the other variables that are only attracting attention belatedly. It may perhaps be that those dimensions are more crucial ones than the others. Only future research can validate this assertion.

Another significant advantage of a typology is that it helps to synthesize the empirical regularities of research. It is only by systematically arranging the data that one can immediately identify that, for example, Blau's theory of structural differentiation and Hage, Aiken and Marett's discussion on structure and coordination link together under one general variable.[24] Likewise it is easy to infer

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24. Hage, et.al., "Organizational Structure and Communications", pp. 860-871 and Blau, *On the Nature of Organizations*, pp. 297-323.

that certain empirical findings lead us into other complicated areas still unexplored. Terreberry's ideas of turbulence, for example, suggest that rapidity of change in the environment can cause a change in the intensity of exchange behaviours, which leads us to a consideration of the environment in which coordination takes place.[25]

Furthermore, much of the available research has been conducted in moderate to highly urbanized environments and may not be applicable equally to other societies. But once the key variables are identified they can be interpolated into a general theory the same way other theories are developed.

In the field of interorganizational behaviour, there seems to be premature overindulgence in the quantitative descriptions of facts. This presumably is a result of an open acknowledgement that because of their success in interpreting and explaining the events of nature, the exact natural sciences serve as a model for the social sciences. Admittedly the ultimate aim of all sciences is the formulation of explanatory laws and the first step is the precise description of facts. But, because of the nature of the subject matter in the social sciences, too much emphasis on the quantitative description of facts can become restricted to statistical records and surveys. About the

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25. Shirley Terreberry, "The Evolution of Organizational Environments", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12,4 (March, 1968), pp. 590-613.

current use of statistics one author sounds a note of caution in saying that "the idea that statistics, and statistical analysis, are tools to be brought in at the later stages of research, sometimes as a quantitative 'frill', is really to miss the point.[26]

It is well known however, that the mere collection of data, even when subjected to high statistical treatment, is insufficient and often misleading. If the statistical data are to be of real scientific value, the interpretation of the data in terms of causal or functional analysis is invariably necessary.

Unlike the natural sciences where experimentation is possible under rigid controls, social sciences deal with material not amenable to such rigid experimentation. Thus the social sciences have to resort to methods in addition to the mere statistical recording of data. The formation of inter-dependent concepts in theory construction becomes extremely important as a consequence.

Before theories are constructed the concepts have to be defined with minimum vagueness, and whenever a new concept is introduced into a field of science, it must be related to other concepts already accepted, such that an interrelated system is constructed.

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26. Frank Bechhofer, "Current Approaches to Empirical Research: Some Central Ideas", in *Approaches to Sociology*, ed. John Rex (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1974), p. 78

We have seen that in organizational research, social scientists have defined a multitude of concepts with sufficient clarity and conciseness and in numerous research they have been related to facts as they are observed. The next step obviously would be to interrelate the concepts as much as possible to form systematic wholes; for their interrelations constitute the first step forward in theory construction. Interorganizational research has now arrived at a phase when the integration of concepts is becoming essential to construction of theory.

When the field of interorganizational relations could be advanced to the stage of proper identification and systematization of its concepts, these concepts need to be incorporated into a generalized theoretical model. Although the term "theory" appears popular in the sociological vocabularly, there is still a good deal of debate as to its proper meaning and application. At its weakest theory purports to explain observed regularities from which testably hypotheses could be drawn.

The beginnings of a set of theoretical propositions about the interacting behaviour of organizations will therefore mean a set of interrelated concepts trying to systematically organize selected aspects of the empirical world of organizations. They may include a basic set of assumptions and axioms as the foundation and the body of theory composed of logically interrelated empirically verified propositions. It is quite possible that propositions purporting to explain interorganizational phenomena will be derived from existing

organizational theory and would remain at the level of general propositions rather than interorganizational theory in the strict sense. At this stage of the science these general propositions should aim to achieve an empirically meaningful status than anything else.

In concluding this section we will illustrate a fruitful line of inquiry pursued by Clark. Burton R. Clark discusses two types of structural characteristics typical of the bureaucratic pattern and the interorganizational pattern. (Table 3-5) Whereas his bureaucratic pattern refers to the common organizational model, his interorganizational pattern refers to that, "found in political arenas characterized by a formal decentralization of authority and therefore to be understood by a theory of political influence". Although Clark's interorganizational arena is much broader than what was attempted to incorporate in this particular study, it nonetheless has value in suggesting empirically meaningful propositions which have greater validity.

TABLE 3-5

BUREAUCRATIC AND INTERORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS AS DEPICTED BY CLARK

	Bureaucratic Patterns	Interorganizational Patterns
Authority Supervision	Inherent in the office	Less thorough formal structure and more shared by specific agreement.
Accountability	Accountability up the line, supervision down the line	Looser accountability and supervision provided by general agreement, limited in scope and in time
Standards of work	Explication, formalization, universal application	Less formal, more direct; often through manipulating resources and incentive in a large market or economy or organizations.
Personnel Assignment	Periodic review of performance replacement or reassignment where appropriate	Other methods of strengthening weak sectors, including supplying resources.
Research and Development	Usually provided for in organizational chart	Subsidizing private innovative groups by major agencies, facilitating dissemination of innovations to the field.

Source: Burton R. Clark, "Interorganizational Patterns in Education", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10 (September, 1965), p. 233.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter it was the intention to discuss ways in which both qualitative and quantitative data can contribute to the clarification of variables, formulation of hypotheses and conceptulizations toward theory building. Interorganizational data are still in a very exploratory phase of research. Therefore, the preliminary tasks of systematization of concepts and refinement of variables have to be done prior to examining specific relationships pertaining to interorganizational coordination. In this chapter an attempt was made to do both these tasks by classifying the concepts and their referents with basic dimensions in social systems analysis. The overlapping nature of many concepts suggests the difficulties facing any researcher entering into an uncharted area such as interorganizational coordination. By using structural functional analysis and a basic systems analysis, common concepts can be developed and this chapter and the previous chapter have demonstrated that possibility. Apart from anything else, the systematic cross tabulation of presumably significant concepts may sensitize the analyst to types of empirical and theoretical possibilities which might otherwise be over looked.

CHAPTER 4

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION IN THREE WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS: RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND DESIGN

4.1 The Research Setting

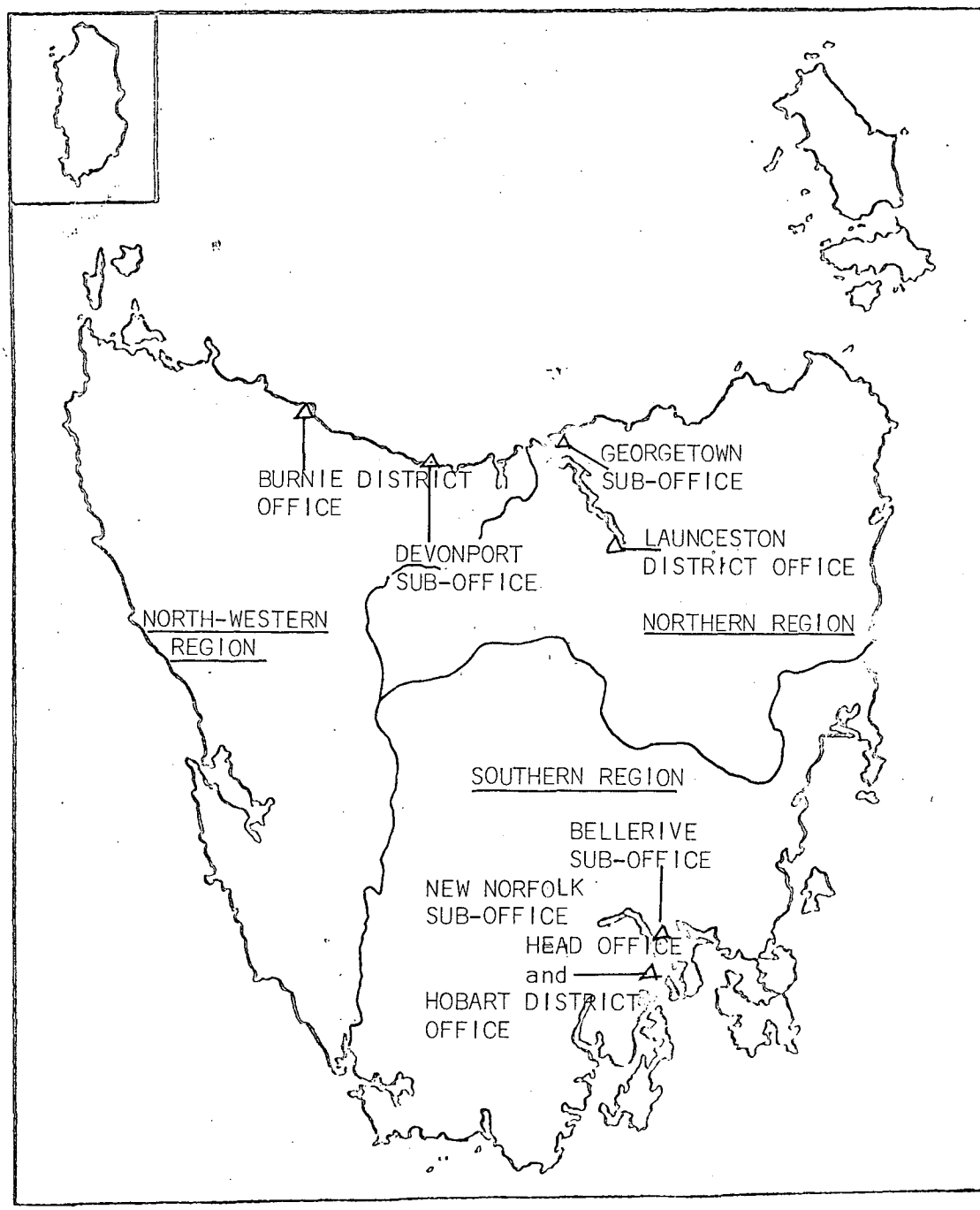
Three welfare organizations were selected for the present study: The Hobart District Office of the Tasmanian State Department of Social Welfare, The Southern Regional Office of the State Department of Probation and Parole Services, and the Drug Information and Assistance Service located in Hobart.

The State Welfare Department and the State Probation and Parole Services were selected because they are the biggest statutory welfare organizations in Tasmania. The services of the Social Welfare Department are provided by a Head office in Hobart and three district offices located at Hobart, Launceston, and Burnie. Four sub-offices also function under the three district offices. The largest number of officers employed by the State Welfare Department work at the district office in Hobart. The Hobart District Office services the Southern region of Tasmania. (See Map 4-1: Map showing the location, geographical boundaries of the Department of Social Welfare. See also Figure 4-1: Organizational chart showing the administrative structure.)

The State Department of Social Welfare operates under the Child Welfare Act of 1960, Adoption of Childrens Act 1967, the Domestic Assistance Service Act 1947, and the Child Protection Act 1974. The Federal legislation pertaining to Family Welfare in terms of Family Welfare Act 1975 is also carried out by the Department. The functions of the Department fall mainly into two main categories, Relief and Child Welfare. The Relief Division is concerned with financial and other assistance for persons in necessitous circumstances and the Child Welfare Division deals with the care and protection of children and their families. Child welfare work also includes supervision of children who are subject to court orders, fostering, adoption, day care and other miscellaneous work with families and children in indigent circumstances. In much of the work of the Department the distinction between these divisions is not apparent, for especially in family welfare work there are often elements that invariably concern both divisions.

All welfare activities are ultimately carried out by child welfare officers. In the category of child welfare officers the department employs both trained officers, i.e., social workers, and non-trained officers - the latter category includes officers having welfare training below tertiary level. Both categories of personnel carry out the same statutory functions entrusted to the Department. In this organization as well as in the other statutory organization, the main district office has been selected as the focus of study

MAP 4-1 MAP OF TASMANIA WITH REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

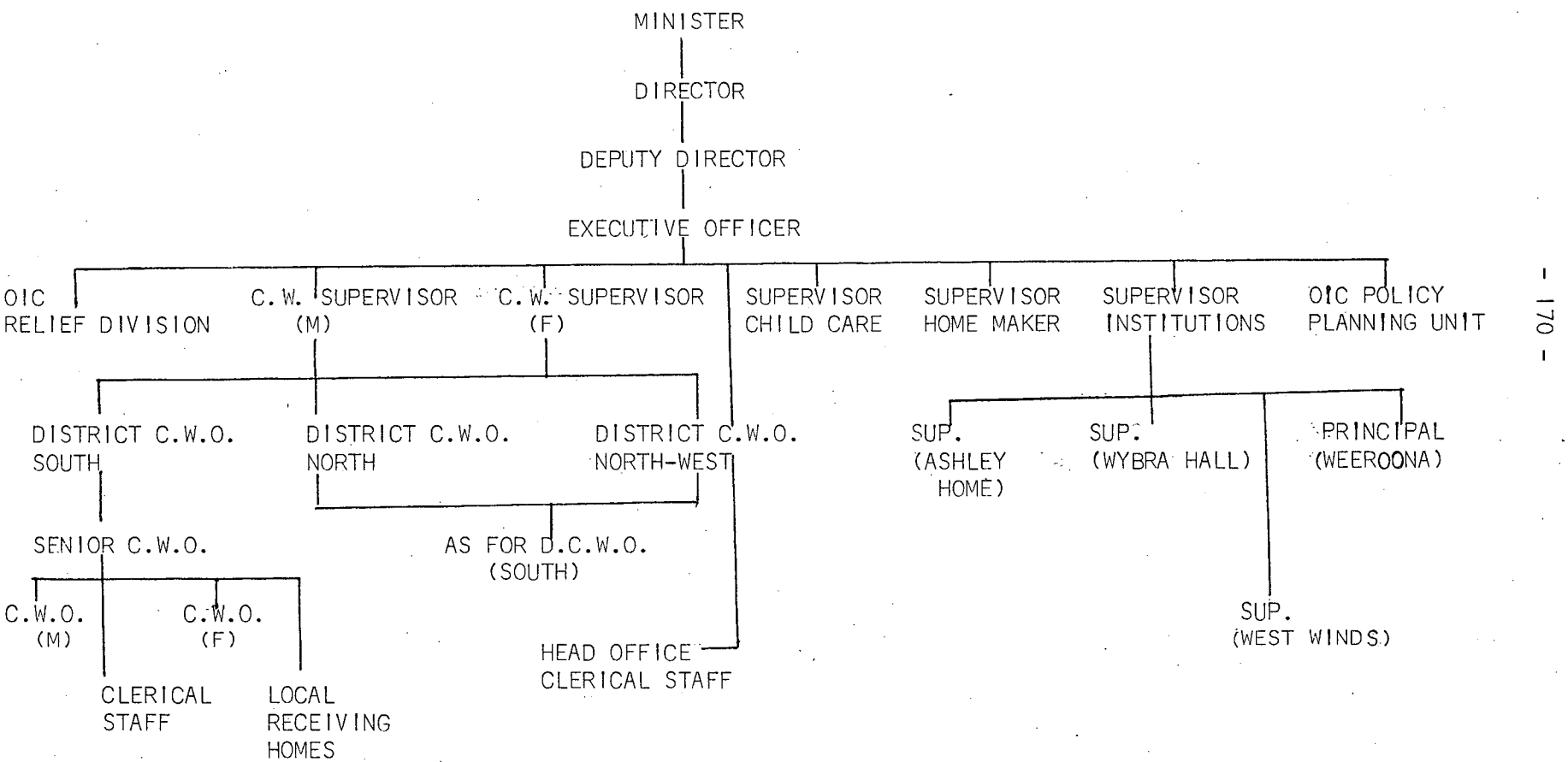


Population (1976 census):

HOBART REGION:	192,670
NORTHERN	110,000
NORTH WESTERN	103,120

FIGURE 4-1

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE



for the following reasons. In the Social Welfare Department the Hobart District Office employed 23 child welfare officers at the time of the study, including the sub-office on the Eastern Shore. (With the collapse of the Tasman Bridge in 1975 a sub-office was set up on the Eastern Shore of the River Derwent under the supervision of the Hobart District Officer.) The Hobart District Office by comparison was the biggest district office in the island. Out of a total of 55 child welfare officers distributed throughout the State the Hobart Office employed 23 of its staff which was the major reason that determined its inclusion. The management levels of the Department have been included as part of the hierarchy of the local office for the purposes of this study, although, strictly speaking, they have other district offices under them as well.

The State Welfare Department also administers receiving homes and child welfare training institutions on a State-wide basis. It also conducts a domestic assistance service and a home maker service under the aegis of the Department. The child welfare officers of the Hobart District officer either directly carry out these tasks on behalf of the Department or liaise with officers employed in the special programs of the main Department.

The second statutory organization is the Probation and Parole Service of Tasmania which is a sub department of the State Attorney General's Department. It is a statutory authority, first established

in 1947, which is organized under three district offices--South, North, and North-West. The goals of the Probation Service are determined by the State Probation of Offenders Act (1973) and are implemented by the Administrative Head of the Attorney General's Department. The Principal Probation Officer has delegated authority by the Attorney General's Department to function as the Head of the Probation and Parole Service. The general aims of the organization are:

(a) to use legal authority for the protection of an offender from the unwise use of personal freedom;

(b) to safeguard the community, should the offender show signs of reverting to illegal behaviour.

The Probation of Offenders Act, No. 2 of 1973 states the modus operandi for the Probation Officer thus:

(a) to visit or receive reports from the persons under his supervision as the probation officer may think fit;

(b) to endeavour to ensure that such persons observe the conditions of their probation orders;

(c) to advise, assist, and befriend such persons and, when necessary, to endeavour to find suitable employment, and;

(d) to carry out such other duties as may be prescribed or as the court in any case may direct.

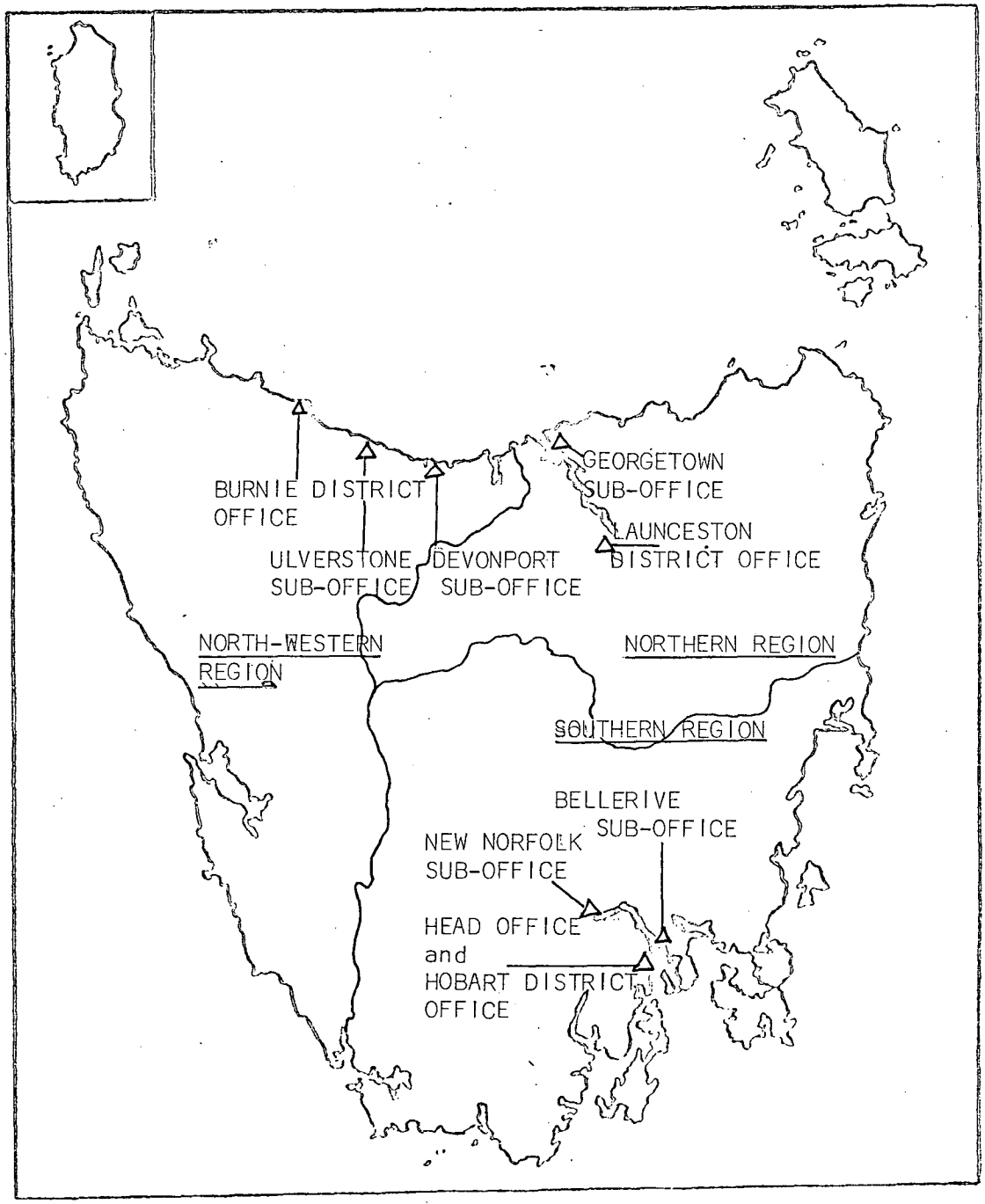
The Probation Service performs services such as counselling and guidance as part of its statutory duties. As a matter of fact, its functions are comparable to the functions executed by the Social

Welfare Department especially in the case supervision of clients within the statutory relationship.

The Probation and Parole Services, like the State Welfare Department, is organized on a regional basis to cover the entire island State. The locus of this research is the Regional Office covering the South of the State and it was selected because it was the largest of the three regional offices. The Hobart regional office, or the Southern Regional Office as it is officially called, has attached to it two sub offices, and the study has included both sub offices as they are part of the administrative framework of the Southern Regional Office. Since both The Hobart District Office of the State Welfare Department and the Southern Regional Office of the Probation and Parole Services cover the same geographic region, they are a suitable setting for comparative studies. (See Map 4-2: Map showing the location, geographical boundaries of the Probation and Parole Service; See Figure 4-2: Organizational chart showing the administrative sturcture of the Probation and Parole Service.)

The Southern Regional Office employed 20 out of the total of 42 probation and parole officers employed by the entire service. Both categories of officers, trained (i.e., social workers) and non-trained worked in the Southern Regional Office and the tasks are distributed in a uniform manner. The probation officers functioned also as authorized officers under the Mental Health Act (1963),

MAP 4-2 MAP OF TASMANIA WITH REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICE.

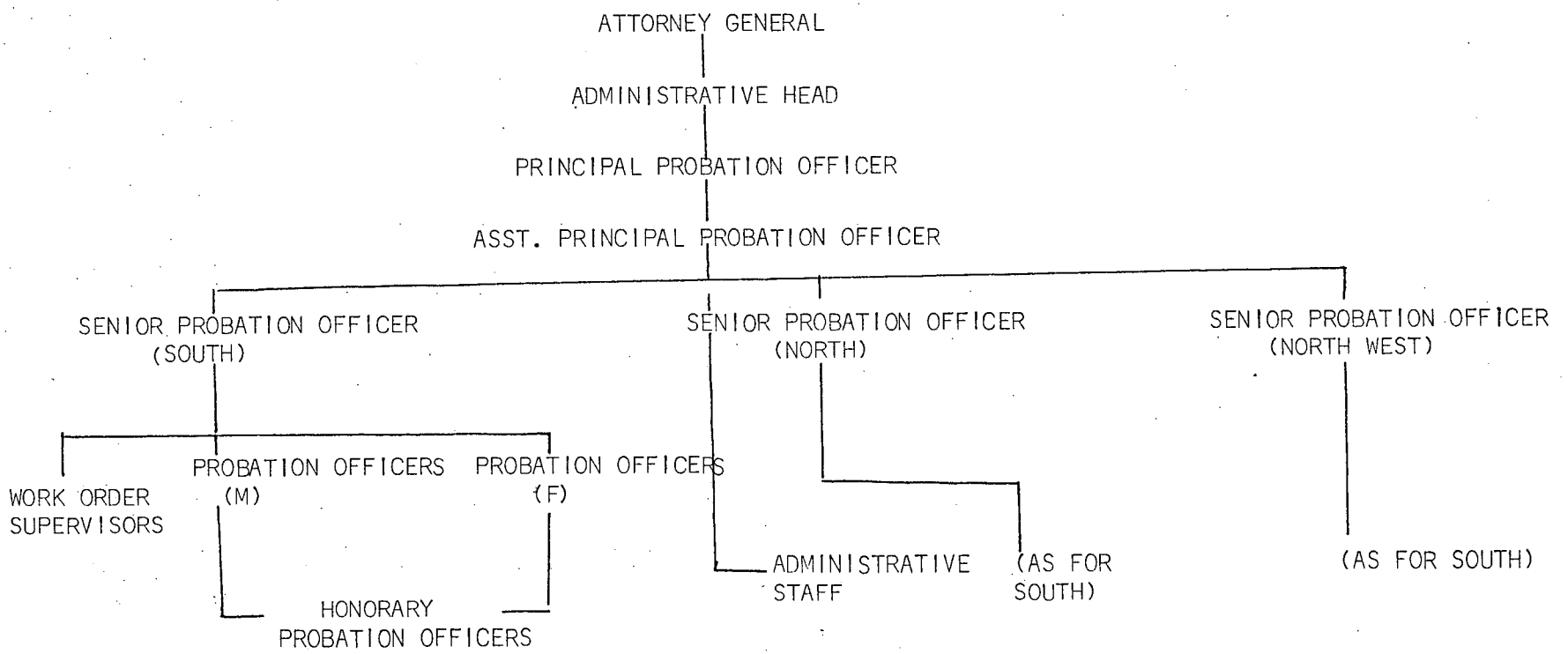


Population (1976 census):

HOBART REGION	192,670
NORTHERN	110,000
NORTH WESTERN	103,120

FIGURE 4-2

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICE



the Alcohol and Drug Dependence Act (1969), and as authorized officers under the Child Protection Act of 1974. The services of this organization are given on the recommendation of the courts and are applicable to both male and female convicted offenders aged sixteen years and over. In practice male offenders are supervised by male officers and female offenders by female officers. General duties of the probation officers include compiling pre-sentence reports to court, supervision and counselling of offenders, reporting and recording, liaising with other agencies and initiating court proceedings in the event of a breach of a probation order. The Probation Service also enlists honorary officers to help statutory officers but the scheme is limited in its operation. It also has a community work order scheme seen as an alternative to imprisonment and two officers of the Department are entrusted with the responsibility for the scheme. As in the case of the Department of Social Welfare the management levels of the Probation and Parole Service has been included as part of the Southern Regional Office.

The third agency is the Drug Information and Assistance Service--a community based non statutory service--set up to provide education and supportive services to people with problems of drug abuse. It is also aimed at establishing close links with other agencies, both statutory and non statutory. The service offered a counselling service and an emergency residential service.

This is a new organization still in its formative stages set up only in 1976. The reason for selecting this agency was its 'newness' in welfare and also the different clientele that it catered to as a voluntary service. Another very significant factor was the receptivity of its employees to an outside researcher, because not many voluntary agencies are receptive to social researchers. A new organization is considered essential to understand the nature of the environment which includes existing organizations for it is only when a new force comes into an existing system that a multitude of forces unleash themselves.

The Drug Information and Assistance Service is located in Hobart. It has no geographical boundaries as such but the service is mainly to clients from the Southern Region of Tasmania. The agency lists as its main functions: referral, counselling, residential, information and resources, education, group activities and follow-up. The agency makes referrals to legal, medical, psychiatric and other social agencies available in the community.

At the time of the study the agency had only two social workers but was assisted by a few volunteers from time to time. Because of its smallness, the Drug Information and Assistance Service has been used in this study mainly for the understanding of certain general variables in the interorganizational field and has been excluded in the examination of certain hypotheses where comparisons are made between the organizations.

4.2 Research Instruments

The selection of research instruments is determined by the focus of the inquiry and more particularly by the goal of inquiry. With regard to the latter it is difficult to label any scientific inquiry as either descriptive or explanatory with accurate precision and this study is no exception. However an added objective, perhaps a controversial one, is envisioned in this study which is to provide a sense of understanding awareness[1] of the phenomenon--a task that can be described with compelling simplicity as a blending of theoretical and empirical activity. Our empirical examination of the organizational structures was greater in comparison with the encompassing system. However, the choice of research instruments was dictated by the particular interest in the interorganizational system. Two instruments--The Questionnaire and the Research Interview--were used to gather information. Twenty-one child welfare officers, eighteen probation officers and two social workers from the Drug Information Service were interviewed and the questionnaire was partly filled in by the researcher at the time of the interview and completed immediately after each interview. The list of organizations contacted by the respondents was filled in

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1. Paul D. Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), pp. 4-9. Reynolds also adds control as another goal of scientific inquiry which many others include within evaluative or action research.

by the respondents themselves. To ensure greater reliability of responses the questions and the central purpose of the research were made clear to the respondents. The questionnaire was first administered as a pre-test to several officers of the two statutory organizations who were undergoing social work training in August 1976. Several changes in the wording of questions and changes in the content and meaning of other items were made after the pre-test.

The questionnaire was designed to be administered to workers at the base levels of the three organizations, that is, to those workers who were in face to face contact with clients and who also functioned as the boundary personnel at the interface between organizations. By using the interview technique in combination with the questionnaire it was possible to ascertain both subjective and objective facts. These two research instruments comprised the only possible strategy, given the practical and technical difficulties in conducting research into organizations. With hindsight it can be said that even a questionnaire has limited value as one moves up the hierarchy in an organization. The data sheet on the interorganizational contacts during the two month period immediately preceding the interview was filled in by the interviewees and a request was made that the completed sheet be returned to the researcher within a fortnight of the interview. Sixteen child welfare officers, eighteen probation officers and the two social workers at the Drug Service returned the data sheet.

A separate interview schedule was devised for the supervisors and agency administrators. (See Appendix B) The supervisors were not asked to report data on their actual interorganizational contacts but rather data on the management function in the area of coordination. Because they do not fully involve themselves in the carrying out of the tasks of basegrade officers, for the sake of consistency in results they were treated separately. Two supervisors of the Hobart District Office and three other supervisors including the Director of the Social Welfare Department Head Office were interviewed. In the Probation and Parole Service the Principal Probation Officer and the Deputy Principal Probation Officer and two supervisors were interviewed.

The interviews with the welfare workers lasted, on average, one hour each and this allowed time for exploration in depth of researcher's particular opinions and interests. All workers readily agreed to the interview and the relatively small size of the three organizations made it easy to develop a reasonable rapport with the subjects. Sociologists are generally less welcome in bureaucratic atmospheres, for, among other things, they are noted to pick other people's incompetencies without ever suggesting what they do to better outcomes. There is also the danger that social scientists will raise questions which their staff members have not considered relevant before their exposure to research

instruments.[2] Building a rapport with one's subjects in a bureaucracy therefore is very important. The subject of the study was a much 'talked about' matter amongst all workers and this also helped to create a less threatening atmosphere at the interview. Throughout the research period detailed notes were kept. A few respondents were used as key informants and this was facilitated by the researcher's involvement as a fieldwork coordinator for social work students in the two statutory organizations for a period of two years.[3] The data reported and the

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2. Very sharp comments particularly relevant to research in social welfare has been suggested by Record. She says, "The unease with which any organization, especially if it operates in sensitive or controversial fields, is likely to view research projects by outsiders is not hard to explain....A private social work agency lost contribution of volunteer services and money to a rival organization in a Californian community when the rival publicized a few critical comments contained in the report of an academic researcher who had received the cooperation of the first agency making the study". Jane C. Record, "The Research Institute and the Pressure Group", in Gideon Sjoberg's (ed), *Ethics, Politics, and Social Research,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1967), p. 38.

3. During the years 1975 and 1976, the author supervised social work students doing their fieldwork education in the two organizations, The Department of Social Welfare and The Probation and Parole Service. Supervision of students entailed close collaboration with the staff, discussion of cases, administrative practices and the general overview of the work of the organization. Coordination difficulties, a continuing subject, surfaced at many of the joint meetings with students and staff.

interpretations given are from the perspective and vantage points of the three organizations listed in the study. Although the researcher maintained a continuing interest in the workings of the two statutory organizations during those two years, the actual research interviews were conducted during the latter part of 1976 and the first half of 1977.

The interviews were carried out over a period of ten months (October 1976 to June 1977). The organizational contacts made by welfare workers during a period of two months formed the nucleus of data on coordination. The reported contacts had to be deliberately spread over a number of months to achieve a balance perspective of the organizations as a whole. This was achieved by scheduling the interviews in such a way that workers would report contacts made during different times of the calendar year. Each worker was asked to report on those two months immediately preceding the interview. Hence some workers reported contacts made in August-September 1976 whereas some others listed contacts made in May and June of 1977. This had the advantage of a good spread and also avoided a possible distortion in reporting only slack months of organizational activity such as the December-January period of any year.

The information gathered from the interviews was particularly useful in providing insights into the discursive nature of organizational reality. Combined with the questionnaire, the interview provides a 'gut-level' understanding of how the welfare workers viewed

the subject under investigation and such data breathes life into what would otherwise be abstract and stale statistical descriptions. The fact that many welfare workers were eager to talk freely and openly made them very useful respondents. With regard to the 'not-so-willing' respondents, the investigator used two practical devices: to conduct the interview on the respondent's terms and convince the respondent that on his/her participation depended the successful completion of the study simply because of the smallness of the organizations in Hobart.

Fortunately for any investigator in social welfare there is always hope. The discipline is still in an immature stage as a 'pure science' and respondents are not reluctant to casually talk on any topic being researched. They are, relatively speaking, not very sensitive about bureaucratic pressures which often enough become a difficult barrier to organizational research. Care had to be taken with 'elites' in all three organizations for these respondents naturally demand a hand in directing the course of the interview.[4]

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4. Lewis Dexter, *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*, (Evanston, Ill.: North Western University Press, 1970), p. 5.

4.3 Hypotheses of the Study and the Operational Procedures

The purpose of this section is to present the hypotheses that guided the examination of interorganizational relationships in the three welfare organizations in Hobart. The previous review of literature treated the properties of the interorganizational system under three categories--analytic, structural, and global. The hypotheses that were formulated to guide the data collection follow the same format, for reasons argued earlier. From the Table 4-1 it is clear that hypotheses one to eight test out the variables listed under analytic and structural properties, whereas hypotheses nine to twelve refer to global properties. It was possible to cover all analytic variables that were identified in Chapter two and three but for reasons of research manageability only two structural variables were selected for drawing out hypotheses. The variables of resources (2.6b in Ch. 2), and Age of Organization (2.6d in Ch. 2) were left out. It needs to be said here that although these variables no doubt are of significance in studying coordination the number of organizations included in the sample cannot give sufficient depth to the examination of hypotheses relating to these variables. Similarly, hypotheses nine to twelve need a social survey research of a magnitude that cannot be undertaken within the scope of this study which tries to formulate theoretical propositions as well as engage in empirical fact finding from a limited sample and therefore data pertaining to all four hypotheses under global properties are covered under three broad headings of environment, input constituency, and domain consensus.

TABLE 4-1

EXAMINATION OF THE THEORY OF COORDINATION: VARIABLES IDENTIFIED AND HYPOTHESES TESTED IN THE STUDY

Nature of Property	Variables Identified in Chs. 2 and 3	Hypotheses enunciated	Comments
Analytic	Ideology of the welfare worker Ch. 2 (2.5b) Ch. 3 (Table 3-1 Cells 5 and 6	There will be a direct relationship between awareness of interdependence by welfare workers and the extent of interorganizational coordination	
	Professional Orientation of members. Ch. 2 (2.5a) Ch. 3 (Table 3-1 Cells 1 and 2).	Professionals in welfare organizations tend to engage in more contacts with outside organizations than non-professionals	
	Informal Power of Lower Participants Ch. 2 (2.5c) Ch. 3 (Table 3-1, Cells 3 and 4)	Welfare workers prefer to use informal modes of communication with outside organizations	This hypothesis examines only the discretionary aspect of the power of lower participants
	Orientation of Executive Cadre Ch. 2 (2.5d) Ch. 3 (Table 3-1 Cells 3 and 4).	Awareness of interdependence by supervisory personnel will increase the exchange behaviours of welfare workers and the extent of coordination	

Continued..

Table 4-1 Continued.

Structural	Organizational Goals Ch. 2 (2.6a) Ch. 3 (Table 3-2 Cells 7 and 8	Welfare organizations that score high in complexity will have more interorganizational behaviours
	Resources Ch. 2 (2.6b) Ch. 3 (Table 3-2 Cells 3 and 4)	No hypothesis drawn
	Client Careers Ch. 2 (2.6c) Ch. 3 (Table 3-2 Cells 3 and 4)	An organization that services clients over a longer period has more interorganizational contacts
	Age of Organization Ch. 2 (2.6d) Ch. 3 (Table 3-2 Cells 3 and 4)	No hypothesis drawn
	Internal Structure and Diversity Ch. 2 (2.6e) Ch. 3 (Table 3-2)	Centralized decision making has a negative effect on interorganizational coordination. There is a negative relationship between formalization and interorganizational coordination.

Continued..

Table 4-1 Continued.

Global	Structure, Process, and Linkages of the Interorganizational system Ch. 2 (2.9b, 2.9c 2.9d, 2.9e). Ch. 3 (Tables 3-3 and 3-4)	Organizations whose input constituency is low and claim to special competence is not accepted fully by the members of the system tend to play a cooperative but submissive role as focal units. Organizations with high input constituency but low acceptance of special competence tend to be aggressive and competitive in dealing with the system. Organizations with low input constituency but high acceptance of their special competence are cooperative in their exchange behaviours. Organizations with high input constituency and high acceptance of special competence tend to be isolationist in a system network.	In order to keep this study within manageable proportions these hypotheses are not put to true empirical test. Descriptive data pertaining to the four hpotheses are given under the headings of (a) environment, (b) input constituency, (c) domain consensus and special competence

The term "welfare worker" will be used throughout this thesis to include all social welfare personnel such as child welfare officers, probation officers, and social workers, both trained and non-trained. The terms "interorganizational coordination" and "interorganizational relationship" also will refer to all types of facilitative exchanges between organizations.

4.4 Analytic Properties

Hypothesis I--There will be a direct relationship between awareness of interdependence by welfare workers and the extent of interorganizational coordination.

Welfare organizations provide a particularly interesting context to study the association between member awareness and the structure and functioning of the interorganizational system. Many authors have drawn attention to this variable in studying coordination.[5] Litwak and Rothman, mentioned in Chapter 2, pointed out to the importance of awareness of interdependence as a critical factor in the extensiveness of coordination between organizations. In the examination of properties it was noted that data about collectivities could be abstracted from different sources at different levels. In this section dealing with analytic properties, awareness is treated as an individual attribute that shapes the character and behaviour

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5. See Litwak and Rothman, "Towards the Theory and Practice of Coordination Between Formal Organizations", pp. 150-151.

of organizations. It will be insufficient by itself to explain the total coordinative responses by an organization but the empirical evidence so far suggests its great potency.

This hypothesis only measures the analytic component of the awareness variable. Awareness of interdependence by organizational members results from a variety of factors. Firstly, the technology used by a particular organization may be such that client problems that are brought before the organization will invariably force members to consult other domains. In such a situation the technology correlates directly with the awareness variable. A technology is defined here as a body of knowledge that ensures the success of the transformation process performed by the personnel in carrying out the necessary tasks. Social welfare technology (if one is allowed to use the term) is indeterminate and extensive in scope because of the intangible nature of the desired outcome, the variability of the raw material, and the uncertainty of a cause--effect relationship in the process. Therefore the link between technology and awareness is not very important. Secondly, awareness of interdependence results from the presence of a properly established domain consensus among the welfare organizations in a particular locality. Thirdly, it is a function of the problem ideology of organizational personnel. Members of an organization bring into their task varied orientations, reflecting different values and attitudes of the social groups with which they are affiliated. These affect their conceptions about clients. Such

attitudes and conceptions concerning the people with whom they work are of critical importance, since the technology of the welfare organization is based in part on direct and planned manipulation of the interpersonal relations between staff and clients. Moreover, welfare organizations, in contrast to other bureaucracies, are limited in their ability to neutralize such ideologies. Although the organizational leadership may attempt to achieve an ideological homogeneity through its staff selection and recruitment process, it can at best be only partically successful.[6] This again is complicated by the lack of consensus on the part of top decision makers.

There is difficulty in finding an operationalizing procedure that subsumes all these critical components of awareness. In this first hypothesis it is only a specific aspect of the totality of forces affecting awareness that is examined. As argued in Chapter 2, it is hypothesized that a clinical orientation will lead to less outside activity whereas a social problem orientation will entail a higher use of community resources than one's skill in interpersonal therapy. We assume that the latter orientation is important for the activity that is under scrutiny in this study.

The respondents were asked to rate four statements regarding their work, ranging from clinical to social orientations (low social

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6. See Hasenfeld and English, *Human Service Organizations*, Ch. III, pp. 153-157.

awareness to high social awareness) as either highly important, moderately important, slightly important, or not important at all. The statements were:

1) Direct individual work with your clients who are in need of your services.

2) Helping your clients to adjust to the existing situation.

3) Giving information about and referral to resources available in the community.

4. Bringing existing community resources to bear on behalf of your client.

Respondents were assigned numerical scores from 1 (clinical orientation/low awareness of interdependence) to 4 (social orienation/high awareness of interdependence).[7]

The dependent variable in this hypothesis as well as in all other hypotheses is interorganizational coordination. The degree of such coordinated behaviour can be measured in a variety of ways. Among these are the number of cases of clients referred and exchanged, the number of personnel lent or exchanged, the amount of financial support gained from the interaction and the number of joint programmes.

One can also describe the types of organizations contacted, their function, and the asymmetry in interaction (if the power

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7. See Appendix A (item 33).

quotient is measurable) although in terms of the definition of coordination used here we are only interested in facilitative behaviour. In this study the type of interaction is captured along a dimension of intensity. Three levels of intensity are measured. Low intensity is when welfare personnel contact organizations in order to seek out or provide information about the services they offer, provide information abour particular clients, programmes and procedures. Referrals and exchange of clients, a common characteristic of welfare routine, is classed as moderate intensity. In this second category the worker retains a continuing interest in the client. In high intensity interactions two or more organizations can jointly supervise clients or carry on joint programmes for their clientele. Regular and irregular case conferences are also categorized as high intensity phenomena. For every respondent, therefore, there are two types of possible scores in the dependent variable. An aggregate score (the total number of organizations contacted) and an intensity score (describing the type of interaction).[8]

In the questionnaire this element of intensity was a problematic one. Many respondents commented on the difficulty to categorize strictly whether a particular service was of low intensity or moderate intensity. With regard to the high intensity interactions there was no difficulty. In the interview it was

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8. Appendix A, Section II.

explained to every officer the purpose of the research and the decision whether a particular contact was of low intensity or moderate intensity was left to the discretion of the officer concerned. This is considered justifiable for in social science research the best arbiter of 'truth' is the respondent himself.

The classification of intensity levels corresponds in part to Reid's interpretation of coordination patterns described in Chapter 2. His level one, which is ad hoc coordination, "include chiefly information, referral, and, to a lesser degree, service". Reid also maintains that the bulk of coordination takes place at this level. His second type is systematic case coordination where "interagency exchanges are systematic and extensive". This corresponds broadly to level two of our intensity scale. The third level of Reid is programme coordination where coordination is centered not on individual cases but on agency programmes. It is a collective property of the system of organizations. The important fact about the progression in Reid's classification is the extent and value of agency resources exchanged. Also to be noted is that increasing intensity of interaction leads to a degree of formality in exchanges and a loss of autonomy. The intensity level three of the research design in this study does not cover the substantive content of Reid's programme coordination for reasons which are peculiar to Hobart, to be discussed in the analysis of global properties.[9]

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9. Reid, "Inter-Agency Coordination in Deliquency Prevention and Control, p. 420.

A problem that crops up in most social science research is the total dependence on the respondent's memory for data. This can be overcome only if the researcher decides to spend time observing the interactions, but most interactions take place in contexts known only to the particular officer concerned and, moreover, because of the stress of confidentiality, it is extremely difficult to extract data without the express sanction of the respondent. Therefore, the researcher's only safe source of information is the volunteered response from the subjects.

Hypothesis 2--Professionals in welfare organizations tend to engage in more contacts with outside organizations than non-professionals.

The matter of professionals and welfare organizations has been studied in depth in the social sciences. The greater part of that scrutiny has been preoccupied with intra-organizational aspects of the relationship. The general trend has been to treat bureaucratic and professional 'cultures' as two antithetical aspects and limit the consideration to stresses and strains in that unhappy blending. In this conflict situation the professional is viewed as one who defines his own role with little or no loyalty to the employing organization. We have demonstrated in Chapter 2 that in social welfare the importance of the dominant professional culture is not stressed as in other human services. It was shown that there is no assumption of irreconcilable conflict within the agency and the professional is conceived as a servant of the agency, who carries

out the policy of the agency at the request of the community for the good of the client.

As argued earlier, there is very little empirical evidence to suggest that professionalism by itself encourages interoganizational linkages, except for one reason. There is an implicit assumption that professionals are committed to innovativeness and change whereas "bureaucratic" employees are attracted to stagnation and the maintenance of the status quo. Hobart is a small community where welfare organizations are only beginning to shape their character, where the professionals are relatively few in number in the staff complement, and therefore it was considered rewarding to test the differences between the professional and non-professionals in their engagement in interorganizational activity.

In this study a professional is counted as one who is eligible to be a member of the Australian Association of Social Workers. The membership eligibility is dependent on the completion of an accepted post-graduate diploma or a bachelor degree in Social Work. Members of the Australian Institute of Welfare Officers are not counted as professionals, although its members profess to be so.

Hypothesis 3--Welfare workers prefer to use informal modes of communication with outside organizations.

The reasons for the above formulation are many and varied. Informal modes of communication tend to be congruent with the sense of autonomy that is considered necessary to facilitate professional activity. The changeability of the element to be coordinated is another factor that relates to the medium of interorganizational linkage. In organizational literature there are a series of studies which argue that the more standardized the event, the more rational the organizational means for handling it, the more non-standardized the event the more decentralized and collegial the structure required to handle it effectively.[10] This argument is extended further to infer that non-standardized situations will best be handled by primary group type linkages while extremely standardized situations will be handled by written rules and formal methods.

In statutory organizations one cannot disregard the need for written documentation, although it is possible to observe the use of informal modes of contacts with outside agencies in addition

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10. Lawrence and Lorsch documented this fact in relation to the plastics industry. In situations where technological change was very rapid a decentralized structure was more effective with plenty of leeway for lateral interaction because of the changeability of the element to be coordinated whereas in the more stable container industry, the hierarchical, rational structure was more effective. See Lawrence and Lorsch, *Organizations and Environment*.

to the former. To operationalize the above variable of informality the respondents were asked to note the frequency of the use of telephone facilities relative to the use of letter writing. This obviously is only a partial method of analysing informal modes and therefore qualitative information was also sought in the questionnaire to seek out the reasons for the use or non-use of such method.

Hypothesis 4--Awareness of interdependence by supervisory personnel will increase the exchange behaviour of welfare workers and the extent of coordination.

This is an inference from the reasoning which guided the first hypothesis. Definition and specification of the mission or productive task of the organization are primary tasks of the executive, necessary to give purpose and direction to staff activity and to earn the support of outside organizations. Given the lack of clarity and consensus on goals, generally characteristic of welfare organizations, and the generality of official mandates, the supervisors in welfare organizations can have a decisive influence in the delimitation of general staff activity.

We should expect the executive's choice to be partially conditioned by his own training and collegial reference groups. Those serving for several years may be guided by past traditions of the agency concerned. Although we argued earlier on the relative autonomy that welfare workers enjoy from the control and surveillance of their

supervisors, nevertheless, they are close enough to informally condition the thinking of their subordinates. In the organizations studied here the two statutory bodies did conduct orientation programmes for all their recruits and, moreover, regular meetings were held to discuss problems and tasks facing the subordinates. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that in those organizations where supervisors had definite views about the necessity of interorganizational linkages for effective service, we should expect more frequent contacts by its lower level personnel. Supervisory personnel were weighted equally irrespective of their rank in the hierarchy. In answers to questions 1, 2, 13 in Appendix B, they were assigned numerical scores from 1 (low awareness) to 5 (high awareness). An average was computed for each respondent and the aggregated organization score falling below the midpoint in the range was taken as low awareness and above midpoint as high awareness.

4.5 Structural Properties

Hypothesis 5--Welfare organizations that score high in complexity will have more interorganizational exchange behaviours.

It was Blau and Scott who drew attention to the fact that organizations vary on the dimension of complexity, and that not all organizations are complex simply because of their size. Complexity, although often indicated by size, is quite distinct from it.[11]

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11. Blau and Scott, *Formal Organizations*, p. 7.

While there is considerable agreement in the literature that the degree of complexity in an organization is important in organizational analysis, there have been only limited attempts at operationalizing the variable. Hage defines complexity as the

> "specialization, in any organization...measured by the number of occupational specialities included and the length of training required by each. The greater the number of occupations and the longer the period of training required, the more complex the organization.[12]

A more inclusive view is offered by others to include vertical and lateral spans of control, the criteria of segmentation and the number of positions in various segments.[13]

These approaches suggest that complexity is a structural condition that contains a number of components. A good many studies on this subject are focussed on intraorganizational dynamics rather than on interorganizational factors. (Hage's study is an exception). In the present study the variable of complexity is measured by

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12. Hage, "An Axiomatic Theory of Organizations", p. 294. A similar definition is offered by Price, who states, "Complexity may be defined as the degree of knowledge required to produce the output of a system [and] can be measured by the degree of education of its members. The higher the education, the higher the complexity", James L. Price, *Organizational Effectiveness: An Inventory of Propositions*, (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1968), p. 26.

13. D. S. Pugh, et.al., "Conceptual Scheme for Organizational Analysis", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8, (1963), pp. 289-315.

aggregating scores of two main components. Firstly, we note internal segmentation--the number of separate "parts" of an organization; and secondly, occupational specialization.

A. Internal Segmentation

1. The number of distinct organizational goals. (one point per distinct organizational goal up to a maximum of five points)

2. The number of levels in the hierarchy (one point per level to a maximum of five points)

B. Occupational Specialization

1. Professional Activity
The index of professional activity was computed as follows:

(range 0-3)

One point for belonging to a professional organization; one point for attending at least one meeting of such organization; one point for holding office, reading a paper, or delivering a talk in the year 1976/77. [organizational mean arrived at by averaging individual scores].

2. Professional Training

Once again, the range is 0 - 3, computed as follows:

0 - High school or less
1 - College/University Degree with no Social Work training
2 - Eligibility for professional membership.

[This organizational mean arrived at by averaging the individual scores]

Hypothesis 6--There is a negative relationship between formalization and interorganizational coordination.

As in the case of complexity, a series of indicators is used to measure the degree of formalization in the organizations examined. Rules and regulations designed to handle contingencies faced by the organization often indicate the behaviour of organizations as in other units of social organization. There are a number of procedures to measure the importance of rules and regulations in an organization. The approach taken by Hage is that:

> "formalization...is measured by the proportion of codified jobs and the range of variation that is tolerated within the rules defining the jobs. The higher the proportion of codified jobs and the less the range of variation allowed, the more formalized the organization.[14]

Analytically viewed, formalization includes two facets of organizational control; job codification and rule observation.[15] The hypothesis here is that two aspects of formalization impede closer collaboration with outside agencies because they discourage individual initiative. The empirical indicators of these concepts

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14. Hage, "An Axiomatic Theory of Organizations", p. 295.

15. This is in line with the refinement introduced by Hage and Aiken in their later research, They point out that "Job codification represents the degree of work standardization while rule observation is a measure of the latitude of behaviour that is tolerated from standards". Jerald Hage and Michael Aiken, "Relationship of Centralization to Other Structural Properties", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12.1 (June 1967), p. 79. Pugh and others call it the "structuring of activities". See Pugh, et.al., "Dimensions of Organizational Structure", p. 75.

were derived from Hage and Aiken who developed the basis on a factor analysis of scales developed by Hall.

The job codification index was based on the following 5 questions:

1. Whatever the situation arises we have procedures to follow in dealing with it;
2. Everyone has a specific job to do;
3. Going through the proper channels is constantly stressed;
4. Organization keeps a written record of everyone's performance;
5. Whenever we have a problem we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer.

Replies were scored from 1--(definitely false) to 4--(definitely true) and then an organizational mean was computed by averaging the means of the respondents.

Rule observation index was computed by averaging the responses to each of the following statements:

a) The employees are constantly being checked for rule violations;

b) People here feel as though they are constantly being watched, to see that they obey the rules.

Respondents' answers were scored as in the former and computations were made of average individual scores and organizational scores.

Hypothesis 7--Centralized decision making has a negative effect on interorganizational coordination.

It is the assumption here that decisions about jobs are basically decisions about the control of work. A high degree of flexibility allowed in one's job can affect the 'flight forward' attitude of employees in a bureaucracy. It is generally considered that rigidity of a bureaucracy prevents its employees from being creative and resourceful. We have taken it further to imply that interorganizational coordination is innovative in many respects as there is no direct organizational mandate to do so in the organizations studied. We measured the degree of centrality in decision making about work with a scale measuring the "hierarchy of authority".

The index of authority was computed by first averaging the individual responses to the following 5 statements:

1. There can be little action taken here until a supervisor approves a decision;
2. A person who wants to make his own decisions would be quickly discouraged here;
3. Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up for the final answer;
4. I have to ask my boss before I do almost anything;
5. Any decision I have to make has to have my bosses approval.

Responses could vary from 1--(definitely false) to 4--(definitely true). The individual scores were averaged to find a mean organizational score.

Hypothesis 8--An organization that services clients over a longer period uses more interorganizational contacts.

We separated out the client services of less than one year as short term and any period over one year as long term. Because of the tendency in welfare to include the total person rather than a particular problem we conceived that longer treatment periods would invariably necessitate a going beyond the immediate problem that brought the client before the particular agency. "Related characteristics", as Lefton calls them, engage the attention of welfare personnel, leading to an extension of mandatory functions.[16] Because welfare is always ambiguously defined, it extends mainly into dimly lit areas of personality and social circumstances, calling for services dispensed by multiple organizations.

Long term treatment facilities call for the cooperation of the client in the treatment process to a greater degree than short term encounters. Such "active membership" leads to an orientation

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16. Lefton, "Client Characteristics and Structural Outcomes". Related characteristics are secondary characteristics that go beyond the so called "immediate problems", p. 24.

that places lateral emphasis on the organization's role. Lefton has shown that in the case of the tuberculosis hospital laterality implies "not only differential diagnosis but the specification of procedures to handle problems tangential to the disease entity".[17] Therefore the anticipation that the client is capable of negatively influencing the therapeutic process as well as the professional competence of the organizations' decision maker lends weight to the above hypothesis. Although one could argue that this anticipation is present in the case of all clients irrespective of the duration of supervision, we are hypothesizing that long term clients demand more attention than short term clients. A negative result in the case of a short term client in welfare circles is attributed to the insufficiency of time in order to build up a relationship.

4.6 Global Properties

In this section the strategy is to use the organizations of the study as focal organizations and study the properties of the system they encompass. The focal organizations are treated as the units in an organization set. The properties studied are: the nature of the input constituency, the degree of domain consensus and competition within the set. Input constituency concerns the

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17. ibid, p. 29.

sources of input into an organization. Resources are men, money and materials. It is hypothesized that an organization that is part of a corporate structure or depends highly on one source for its particular resource input will have its major exchanges with its superordinate organization and will therefore reduce the likelihood of interorganizational coordination. Domain consensus is the consensus of opinion on an organization's locus in the interorganizational network. It is the 'right' of an organization to operate. For example, the police and probation cannot normally engage in cooperative exchanges if both contest each others competence in treating delinquency. A relatively new organization is likely, on the other hand, to be cooperative in its endeavours in order to carve out a proper role for itself. A new and a young organization with low domain consensus can afford to be aggressive only if its resources are securely guaranteed.

The present study is to be construed purely as exploratory in this area, for two major reasons. Firstly, intensive investigation of a system requires a strategy that is well beyond the capacity of a single researcher, and, secondly, in a city devoid of existing research in this field, the task becomes extremely difficult. Therefore this exercise is merely to do the exploratory phase of research activity in order to help formulate more inclusive hypotheses. A hypothetical model combining input constituency and domain consensus can be adopted to facilitate the systematic investigation of the field. (Table 4- 2)

TABLE 4-2

OBSERVED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DOMAIN CONSENSUS AND INPUT CONSTITUENCY

Domain Consensus	Input Constituency	
	Low	High
Low	submissive unstable	aggressive
High	cooperative stable	isolationist

Table 4-1 generates the following hypotheses to understand the interorganizational system as it operates in Hobart.

Hypothesis 9--Organizations whose input constituency is low and claim to special competence is not accepted fully by the members of the system tend to play a cooperative but submissive role as focal units.

Hypothesis 10--Organizations with high input constituency but low acceptance of special competence tend to be aggressive and competitive in dealing with the system.

Hypothesis 11--Organizations with low input constituency but high acceptance of their special competence are cooperative in their exchange behaviours.

Hypothesis 12--Organizations with high input constituency and high acceptance of special competence tend to be isolationist in a system network.

Domain and input constituency have been shown to be either implicit or explicit in various approaches to understand coordination between organizations. These are variables both internal and external to the organization either facilitating or constraining as it relates to the overall system of which it is only a part. Hypotheses nine to twelve are an attempt to broaden the current perspective within which more rigorous research could proceed. The general aim of the discussion of global properties will be to see their empirical relationship with other selected variables.

4.7 Conclusion

Three organizations dispensing welfare services have been selected to test empirically the central concepts and the hypotheses put forward on the basis of those concepts. Scientific knowledge about coordination commences from a problem which has both theoretical and practical import. The area of coordination between organizations has been circumscribed by installing twelve hypotheses within

feasible research boundaries. In translating any conceptual area of social reality into testable hypotheses a certain amount of simplicity is induced as an unavoidable fact. Insistence on a methodological ideal as is advanced in this thesis leads to such an outcome and especially so when sociological theory in the area of coordination is insufficiently articulated to lead unequivocally into testable hypotheses.

In this chapter the design of the research was described in terms of the properties of individuals, structures, and systems and the interrelations between them. The connections between the variables were made in line with the theoretical outline. The method of data collection was a combination of the interview with varying degrees of formality and flexibility built into it and a questionnaire. The interviews were conducted with two groups of workers in each organization--the basegrade workers and the supervisors and top level administrators.

In designing the research the author had to note that there was no single best method. The whole procedure was carried out in a manner that several versions of what is intrinsically the same method could be used. For, in the last analysis one is forced back to making the best sense one can of a complex reality by whatever means one has at one's disposal. Yet it does not guarantee a complete explanation, for if it does, that research is suspect.

CHAPTER 5

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION: ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THREE WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters an arbitrary separation was made between the theory of coordination and the method of study. Yet one can argue that it is impossible to make such a clear separation between theory and method, for they interact closely with each other. By theory we mean the development of concepts, or the formulation of generalizations about events or situations in order to find causal links between phenomena, and method is the use of various techniques to translate the concepts into testable propositions, the collection and analysis of information relating to those aspects of social relationships covered by the concepts, and the attempt to assess the reliability and validity of the concepts.

In the sociology of organizations, a line of separation tends to exist between those who dwell at length on theoretical discussion and those who place a high premium on method with a minimum of theory. This is in one sense an exaggeration for it conceals the many who aim at a balance. Among the empirically oriented researchers there is also a distinction drawn in terms of the kind of information used. On the one hand, there are the

'objectivists' who use data such as people's observable activities, their defined jobs and statuses, official documents such as job descriptions and manuals in organizations to understand organizations. The other category of empirical researchers gather data from organizational members in the form of subjective responses to questions and statements to comprehend the meanings they ascribe to situations. However, this distinction tends to get blurred when the subjective data in the latter category is rigorously quantified so as to appear as objective data.

The most recent development in terms of methodology in the organizational area is the social scientific school developed by a group of organizational sociologists led by Pugh, Hinings and Hickson.[1] Hinings says this represents the view of the school:

> "the statement of theories in terms which permit the operationalization of the concepts involved, and thus their verification or falsification; the isolation and description of the referents of the concepts, if possible by means of measurement; and, rigorous tests of any theoretical propositions by means of controlled experiment and replication."[2]

These theorists use such a formal method that, as far as possible, the referents, be they subjective or objective, need to be trans-

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1. In criticizing the earlier management theorists Pugh comments that they "not being scientists their statements do not have sufficient precision to enable social experiments to be undertaken to test their validity". See D. S. Pugh, "Modern Organization Theory: A Psychological and Sociological Study", *Psychological Bulletin*, 66,21, (October 1966), p. 238.

2. H. C. R. Hinings, D. S. Pugh, D. J. Hickson and C. Turner, "An Approach to the Study of Bureaucracy", *Sociology*, I (1967), pp. 61-72.

formed into numerical scores to facilitate measurement and assessment of the statistical significance of the associated variables. As a consequence, a high degree of objectivity is apparent in the presentation of their data.

The critics of the social scientific school argue that such a method leads to a neglect of nonquantifiable data and the erosion of meaning in the quantifiable data. They say that the assumption of an arithmetic relation to the number equivalents does not necessarily hold true in human behaviour. The ethnomethodological approach of Cicourel and Dawe, for instance, stresses the fact that valuable insights can be gained by the application of methods of literary criticism to statements and documents in organizations thereby giving subtlety to the analysis.[3]

In the analysis of Cicourel the sociologist himself is considered an important variable as the research process must, "distinguish researcher's rationalities as a scientific observer,

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3. Aaron V. Cicourel, *Method and Measurement in Sociology*, (New York: The Free Press, 1964); and A. Dawe, "The Two Sociologies", *British Journal of Sociology*, 21 (1970). Cicourel argues from an ethnomethodological position by first recognizing that man is a practical theorist himself in that he imputes meanings to make sense of the real world outside and thus the sociologist's role is to bring out the common schemes of interpretation of man in order to clarify how much of that enters into the 'academic' interpretation of such reality.

the common sense meanings used by organizations and agency personnel for interpreting and classifying events into categories, and the actor's interpretative rules for making sense of his achievement.[4]

This debate on methodology regarding organizational analysis has been taken into consideration in working out the details of the present study. The study has combined the method of social scientific school with some attempt to look at action and the way actors define their situations because it is a fact that sophisticated objective indicators alone cannot help in the understanding of organizations as social situations in which human beings interact. Therefore we have at times taken the liberty to make use of descriptive details and 'reason' explanations that were communicated by the actors themselves provided they were rational. Moreover, in the second part of the data presentation where the hypotheses are taken up for examination, the perceptions and interpretations of the actors themselves ensured a justification for the use of measurements. It is significant, as Cicourel points

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4. Cicourel, *Method and Measurement*, p. 133. Also note Titmuss' remarks in relation to social work that, "methodology has been made compulsorily 'respectable' for all to the point of boredom for the many; the most incurious and unimaginative souls have been led to think that a questionnaire, a random sample of delinquents, and a computer could hardly compensate for the lack of an idea..." Titmuss, *Commitment to Welfare*, pp. 40-41.

out, that organizational properties should be seen in relation to the social processes which are recognizably human in origin. It will be incorrect to say that a fusion of the formal approach with the subjective and historicist analysis is without some strains and tensions. Nonetheless, it is equally incorrect to say that a fuller understanding can result entirely either from one or the other.

5.2 General Variables

This chapter will present the data relating to the network of interorganizational coordination under general variables which are considered significant. The major proportion of data in the three organizations studied concernsthe welfare workers operating at or near the levels which come in direct contact with the publics. In the two statutory organizations there were some supervisory personnel who engaged in direct face to face contacts with clients and these have not been included for the purposes of this section. Those supervisors were excluded to avoid distortion in our organizational pattern because some of the supervisors carried a reduced caseload thus cutting down on the need to engage in outside contacts. However, in the second part of data analysis the supervisors' orientations and attitudes have been given sufficient weight to take into account their input into coordination patterns in the two statutory organizations.

5.2 (a) The Number of Organizations in the Network

The total number of organizations contacted by the welfare workers of the three organizations viz., The Probation and Parole Services (PPS), The Department of Social Welfare (DSW), and The Drug Information and Assistance Service (DIAS) is shown in Table 5-1.

TABLE 5-1

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED BY THE WELFARE WORKERS

Name of Organization*	No. of Welfare Workers	No. of Organizations Contacted
PPS	18	151
DSW	16	78
DIAS	2	36

* For the sake of convenience reference to the three organizations will be made in the abbreviated forms throughout the dissertation.

Table 5-1 presents the total number of organizations contacted by the welfare workers in the three agencies during the two month period. The totals have been worked out by 'unduplicating' the individual scores of welfare workers. To illustrate, one organization such as the Commonwealth Social Security Department may have been reported by half the welfare workers in the DSW but in this table it is counted only once. For comparative purposes, this

Table lists only the total number of different organizations contacted by welfare workers.

Construed as an analytic property of individuals in an organization it is clear that the DIAS, the smallest of the three agencies had the most number of organizations per worker. In one way it suggests the behaviour of new organizations in that they strive hard to demonstrate the viability of their service and thus endeavour legitimation through multiple dealings with other organizations. It is also an indication that the interorganizational coordination patterns are not directly a reflection of the manpower resources of a particular organization.

Although the 'clinical' nature of this study does not warrant firm conclusions it is fair to draw some tentative inferences for the benefit of future research. As shown in Table 5-I interorganizational behaviour does not bear a direct relationship to the size of an organization. The study of organizations from the very beginning has considered the number of persons working for an organization as a critical variable.[5] Yet research into size as

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5. For a good review of size and its correlates see, William H. Starbuck, "Organizational Growth and Development", in *Handbook of Organizations*, ed. March, pp. 451-533. There is also a conceptual issue involved here in terms of who is to be counted as an organization member. Many organizational theorists regard clients, customers, stockholders, as falling outside organizational analysis.

a variable has concentrated solely on intraorganizational analysis. It is found to be highly associated with the structuring of activities in an organization.[6] While one may still not be confident of the importance of size, it is generally conceded that if one wants to demonstrate an organizational relationship, size should be a candidate that ought to be held constant. The weakness of many such studies is that they are cross-sectional and relate only to internal dynamics. When organizations are studied over time, the same degree of importance may not show up.[7] Size did not seem to be an important variable in interorganizational analysis in the literature survey of this study. According to the concepts that were explored in Chapter 2 it was not accorded the importance that many organizational theorists claim it should have. In welfare organizations there is evidence to believe that individual attributes such as a social problem orientation may be a much more significant variable rather than size. The DIAS can be used as a clear instance of this lack of association between size and organizational contacts.

The number of organizations contacted by the workers cover a substantial number of the organizations available in Southern Region

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6. D. S. Pugh, D. J. Hickson, C. R. Hinings and C. Turner, "The Context of Organizational Structures", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 14.1 (March 1969), pp. 91-114.

7. Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties: A Comparative Analysis", p. 516.

of Tasmania. Although we have taken any subunit of a bigger organization as a separate unit if it has a separate identity, location, and an administrative structure of its own and function, the number of organizations reported represents a fair cross section of the organizations in the region. (See Appendix G for a list of organizations contacted by all three organizations). The most up to date Community Resources Directory lists over 200 statutory and voluntary health welfare organizations servicing the Southern region. The report prepared for the Tasmanian State Strategy Plan by the Council of Social Services of Tasmania lists over 150 health and welfare organizations functioning in June 1976.[9]

The number of different business and commercial organizations in the private sector reported by workers is 61 for PPS (22%), 17 for DSW (22%), and 12 for DIAS (33%) (See Tables 5-4, 5-5, 5-6). Even when this is excluded, the total of contacted organizations is substantially comprehensive. In that context it is fair to surmize that the use of resources by the three units is fairly extensive.

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8. Commonwealth Department of Social Security, *Community Resources in Tasmania,* (Hobart: Australian Department of Social Security, 1975).

9. Tasmanian Council of Social Services, *Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations in Tasmania: A Pilot Study of a Sample,* (Hobart: Council of Social Services, 1976).

A problem facing any researcher in this area is the lack of any up to date comprehensive list of organizations. It is extremely difficult to observe the growth or the demise of such organizations due to the lack of a central registering authority. This is further complicated by the enormous growth of voluntary welfare agencies during the last decade. The number of welfare organizations that have come into existence during the last two decades is in marked contrast to the trend of events prior to that time. In the sample of health and welfare organizations that was included in the study by the Tasmanian State Strategy Plan one discerns the following trend. Table 5-2 presents the data from that report.

TABLE 5-2

NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS STARTED IN SOUTHERN REGION OF TASMANIA SINCE 1950

Fiscal Year	No.
1950 - 1955	3
1956 - 1960	4
1961 - 1965	4
1966 - 1970	10
1971 - —	26

Source: Tasmanian Council of Social Services, *Consultant Report No. 6*, (Hobart: Council of Social Services, 1976).

The rapid increase in voluntary organizations during the recent years is significant. It has long been noted that voluntary organizations mediate between the individual and society, or perhaps between groups within society, and that they represent group interests that are met by cooperative action. When one considers the function of voluntary organizations they are best understood in relation to governmental and economic organizations. Voluntary organizations, it is often maintained, strive to alter the behaviour of government economic organizations or act as alternatives to such, because members are reluctant to use services provided by them or because they fail to provide the service adequately. This may not necessarily be correct for one could see instances where statutory welfare tends to be duplicated in the voluntary sector as well. There can be many reasons for such duplication. Research has suggested that expectations from statutory welfare agencies tend to be hazier, in contrast to the more definite expectations from doctors, lawyers and the like and therefore demands for services can be made to numerous bodies. People do not know what to expect from a particular agency and there can be a link between these wrong expectations and lack of knowledge about services. As Seebohm pointed out in the British context, accessibility is another significant factor. Even simple matters like how easy it is to find the office, ease of access by telephone, the kind of reception recieved, can go a long way in establishing a high participation rate in the public

sector.[10] These factors can add up to create overlapping services in any society.

However, the analysis of the objectives of organizations founded in recent years may not corroborate the above argument. The newly formed voluntary organizations seem to provide services that are generally not offered by the governmental sector. Table 5-3 shows the objectives of some organizations that were started in the year 1975/6 reported by welfare workers of the three organizations.

It can be seen from Table 5-3 that there has been a sharp increase in the voluntary welfare organizations in areas that one may safely consider to be outside the domain of governmental operations. Not surprisingly therefore, the majority of users of such operations happen to be the governmental departments. It is reported that:

> "Government departments, including the Social Welfare Department, Mental Health Commission, Prisons Department, Probation, Social Security, Education and Police all make frequent use of the most *(voluntary)* agencies in the direct Health/Welfare field..."[11]

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10. See J. E. Mayer and Noel Timms, *The Client Speaks* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1970), p. 37. About the Australian situation an author remarks that, "The lack of knowledge derives in part from the fear of being enveloped in the welfare state... and a 'she'll be right mate attitude' ". See John Tomlinson "The Importance of Being Worthy", *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 10 (1975), pp. 197-208.

11. TASCOSS, *Consultant Report No. 6*, p. 41.

TABLE 5-3

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FORMED SINCE 1975 AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

Name of Organization	Objectives
Tasmanian Tenant's Union	1. To improve the standards and availability of rental accommodation; 2. Secure equitable rents; 3. Remove discrimination.
Hobart, C.A.B.	1. Provide information about community services.
Pregnancy Support	1. Give emotional and physical support to pregnant women (married and single).
Bridgewater Action Group	1. Set up recreational and sporting groups.
Befriender Service	1. Provide a caring and counselling service
Women's Centre	1. Raise women's consciousness.

This supports the assumption that in the field of general welfare there are gaps in the delivery of services to the community which are sensed by various pressure groups. It is necessary therefore for organizations, both statutory or voluntary to solicit outside services to maintain their own viability. The frequent use of voluntary services by statutory organizations as demonstrated by this study is a direct recognition of the importance of coordination of services at the local level.

The kind of 'service sprawl' that is seen in many urban centres such as Hobart has been associated with little or no planning. Because the problems of people are so interconnected, agencies can extend themselves into one another's original territories. For example, a correctional agency will not concern itself with the delinquency only, but will try to work with parents, or with problems of other children in the family. In this process, the agency will invariably overlap or mesh with services provided by other agencies in the locality. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that despite the general evidence that social problems are interconnected, agency response has been less often to coordinate in the interests of serving the whole person. Social service agencies have often been keen to define territorial boundaries rather than anything else.

It is easy to look over the array of agencies in any society and conclude that those in need must be adequately serviced. Without sufficient data it is difficult to agree with such an estimation for the number of agencies can often be a collection of names: a façade of plenty disguising a fact of paucity. Talk of overlap of services can mask the fact that decent levels of service are not available anywhere.

There is another matter about the proliferation of voluntary social welfare that should be mentioned here. The situation with regard to voluntary activity as it exists in Hobart is quite dissimilar

to that often described in the literature. It is generally conceded that voluntary social agencies tend to gravitate towards the economically advantaged sections of the community.[12] Elling and Halesbky argue that, at least in part, higher status groups are benefited by voluntary welfare.[13] Although there is some evidence of this in the field of general health in some industrial societies where upper elements preserve the class structure of their community by organizing their own facilities outside of the control of the masses and beyond their participation, it is not true of all societies. The voluntary sector in Hobart is generally oriented to the interests of low income and minority groups in the community. This brings us to the next variable that seems significant in the analysis of the coordinative network and that is the auspice of the organizations contacted by the workers in the three organizations.

5.2 (b) Auspice of Organizations in the Network

The variable examined here is the auspice of the contacted organization. Table 5-4, 5-5, and 5-6 present the data for the three organizations respectively. The three tables have one common character-

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12. Gilbert and Specht, *Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy*, p. 67.

13. Ray H. Elling and Sandor Halebsky, "Support for Public and Private Services", in *Social Welfare Institutions*, ed. Zald, p. 329.

istic; the percentage of voluntary organizations contacted is significantly more than the statutory organizations. In the PPS, they account for 79% of the total aggregate and in that 40% were with private business organizations. We have included any non tax supported organization working for profit in this latter category. Private hospitals, private solicitors, and other private commercial establishments come within this group. The fact that 40% of contacts that PPS officers had were with private commercial organizations should be seen in relation to the extant functions of the probation officers. There is a widely held notion among many officers in the department that probationers should be found employment to help them cope with the other spheres of life. Some officers still give this high priority.[14]

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14. Many argue that finding employment for clients comprises an essential part of casework practice. Florence Hollis who has done a great deal of work on the casework process may have included it in the area of environmental modification; the steps taken by the caseworker to change the environment in the client's favour by the worker's direct action. Florence Hollis *Casework: A Psychosocial Therapy*, (New York: Random House, 1964). The welfare workers in the PPS are openly divided on this issue. In the 1950s and 1960s social casework showed a classic disdain for employment, money and other tangible goods as merely symptomatic of a deeper maladjustment in the client. The purists in casework believed that what the clients need is an understanding of his fundamental problems; giving insights into a moneyless state. Obviously these assumptions were based on the "pull yourself together lad" theory of life in probation. For an insightful commentary on this debate, see, Geoffrey Parkinson, "I Give Them Money", in *Welfare in Action*, ed. Mick Fitzgerald, et.al., (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 130-133.

TABLE 5-4

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED BY PPS
CLASSIFIED BY AUSPICE

Auspice	Number	Percentage
Statutory	31	21
1. Local Govt.	(4)	(3)
2. State Govt.	(18)	(12)
3. Commonwealth Govt.	(9)	(6)
Voluntary	59	39
1. Denominational	(10)	(7)
2. Non Denominational	(49)	(32)
Private	61	40
1. Business	(61)	(40)
TOTAL	(151) 151	(100) 100

TABLE 5-5

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED BY DSW
CLASSIFIED BY AUSPICE

Auspice	Number		Percentage	
Statutory		26		33
1. Local Govt.	(3)		(4)	
2. State Govt.	(18)		(23)	
3. Commonwealth Govt.	(5)		(6)	
Voluntary		35		45
1. Denominational	(11)		(14)	
2. Non Demoninational	(44)		(31)	
Private		17		22
1. Business	(17)		(22)	
TOTAL	(78)	78	(100)	100

TABLE 5-6

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED BY DIAS
CLASSIFIED BY AUSPICE

Auspice	Number		Percentage	
Statutory		12		33
1. Local Govt.	(0)		(0)	
2. State Govt.	(9)		(25)	
3. Commonwealth Govt.	(3)		(8)	
Voluntary		12		34
1. Denominational	(6)		(17)	
2. Non Denominational	(6)		(17)	
Private		12		33
1. Business	(12)		(33)	
TOTAL	(36)	(36)	(100)	(100)

Table 5-5 shows DSW contacts and their classification. The same pattern persists in relation to voluntary organizations (45%). Private-commercial organizations account for only 22% of the total contacts. The importance given to employment is not as heavy as in the PPS. However, this is not to imply that the DSW is unconcerned about employment matters of their clients. It may well be that the type of client dealt with by the DSW does not demand the services of private organizations as much as the client of the PPS. If, on the other hand, the DSW calls for similar employment services, it may indeed be calling on the services of statutory organizations such as the Commonwealth Employment Service.

Data on the same variable for the DIAS is shown in Table 5-6. The same trend still holds true in here. The voluntary and private commercial sector accounts for nearly 67% of the total organizations contacted. Unlike in the previous organizations the private-commercial category in the DIAS is totally the contacts with private general practitioners and private solicitors. Private solicitors in the PPS accounted for 78% of its contacts and the rate was 6% in the DSW. In the DIAS 22% of the contacted organizations were private general practitioners and 11% were private solicitors. The likelihood of a drug assistance agency contacting private medical practitioners and private solicitors is to be expected owing to the nature of their primary task.

The use of voluntary organizations, both religious and non religious is quite significant. The high volume of contacts with voluntary organizations can be explained at two levels. Firstly, the mere fact that the number of voluntary welfare organizations far outweighs the number in the statutory category speaks for its greater use. Secondly, the number of voluntary organizations providing health and welfare services accounts for more than one-third of the organizations in the voluntary sector in Hobart.[15] The consumer or self-help organizations, coordinating bodies and fund-raising organizations account for the rest. Voluntary organizations have taken over the responsibility for direct welfare services except for hard core services such as housing, employment benefits and physical health much more than the statutory organizations. Ideally, the arrangement encourages the development of pluralism in community services and provides opportunities for the religious, ethnic, and cultural interests of individuals and groups to flourish with or without government intervention. Kramer refers to this as the "value guardian" function of voluntary welfare. It gives expression to the particularistic and sectarian values in social welfare.[16]

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15. TASCOSS, *Consultant Report 6.*

16. Ralph H. Kramer, *The Future of Voluntary Service Organizations: An Organizational Perspective,* (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), mimeographed.

In addition to supporting diversity in community life, these organizations are utilized more than the statutory organizations for another important value laden reason. Voluntary organizations providing direct health and welfare needs are sometimes a vehicle for implementing new and possibly unpopular ideas that might not find a responsive outlet in the statutory sector. It is the contention of welfare workers that some of these agencies are less rigid than formal institutions, and are thus better able to meet the needs of a particular class or social category. The flexibility and changing character makes them more appealing to the prospective client as well as the busy bureaucratic person. This is strengthened by the fact that many voluntary organizations that come on the scene lately are non denominational and therefore do not interfere with the religious convictions of either the recipient of service or the welfare worker. From Table 5-4 and Table 5-6 it is clear that the majority of voluntary organizations used by both PPS and DSW were of the nondenominational category.

In this regard the viability of social structures in coping with the complexities and problems of modern living deserves some comment. Many have remarked that growth and development could completely undermine the existing structural arrangements of contemporary urban society. The report titled "Participation in Australia" published by ACOSS gives the Australian example of a large scale mining development in areas occupied by the Aborigines who have previously had little experience of urban living. Economic

development in such areas has its human costs which are not easily and promptly ameliorated by the extensions in the existing structural arrangements. In highly urbanized societies such as Australia the pressures of urban living can be real indeed. Most of the population live in cities contrary to the popular belief that Australians are rural dwellers. (Appendix H gives some idea of the distribution of the Australian people.) A publication by the Department of Urban and Regional Development (now discontinued) drew attention to the fact that "the state of Australian cities has emerged as a major public issue.... The deterioration of familiar city landscapes, the rising price of land and houses, inefficient and inequitably allocated urban facilities and the resulting personal discomforts and in some cases, hardship, have forced the Australian people to look at their urban backgrounds more critically...."[17]

5.2 (c) Functions of Organizations in the Network

Looking through the directories of social welfare one finds it very difficult to classify the agencies by function without a good deal of overlap. Organizations are prone to define their goals in the official statements in very broad terms, thus precluding any systematic classification. Because of this factor, many researchers

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17. Department of Urban and Regional Development, *First Annual Report, 1971-72,* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service), p. 3.

tend to use their own frame of reference and classify organizations in a manner that suits their research objectives. Perforce, it is necessary for the researcher to familiarize himself with the general functions of agencies before embarking on a classification because operative functions can often be incongruous with the laid down objectives.[18]

Kahn uses a threefold classification of social welfare functions, (a) socialization and development, (b) therapy, help and rehabilitation, (c) access, information, and advice. As he remarks, while such classification may have its value for defining social policy issues, it is not safe to assume that the classification will serve every other purpose.[19] The problem is that there may not be a categorization that will always give identifiable, mutually exclusive functions. Social services, it is known, are at the centre of society's value controversies and political argument and a particular service can be used to serve different purposes. In current economic and industrial development, day care, for example, usually considered a function for child socialization

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18. Donnison has critically looked at the objectives of organizations and concluded that they vary with the focus of one's study for the official statements can only be selective interpretations suited to the political exigencies of practice. Even those providing a service rarely agree on the objectives of their organizations. A true picture, however, can be obtained only by examining the collective experiences of clients. See Donnison and Chapman, *Social Administration*, p. 255.

19. Alfred J. Kahn, *Social Policy and Social Services*, (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 28-29.

and development resource, can become one of therapy, help and rehabilitation because of its use in allowing the mother into the workforce. Or in a less controversial situation, a particular day care service can concentrate on disturbed children as a therapeutic agency and unless the researcher is aware of the operative function it will be listed under socialization and development.

Further more, classification of agency functions is made difficult by the fundamental changes that are taking place in the general area of social welfare. As noted in the introductory chapter, social problems are being recognized as affecting the entire community and not only the unfortunate victims directly caught up by the problem, with the result that institutional reform rather than individual changes in behaviour is thought of as the better prospect for attacking these social problems. As a result of the changing social problem orientation agency functions come to be defined in terms of broad social problem categories such as the juvenile delinquent and the culturally deprived. The other aspect of this change is that the needs and expectations of the public who support these programmes are taking on new direction. The public is demanding a 'scientific' approach to the alleviation of social problems which in many instances leads to a 'reaching-out' approach, thus incorporating broader social goals and expanded agency function.

The above mentioned difficulties make the explanatory function of a classification of agencies by operative function largely a theoretical exercise. Therefore better categorizations should be developed if we are to make satisfactory use of the variable of agency function.[20]

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20. Titmuss makes four broad distinctions in the area of social agency functions. He distinguishes between: (a) Those services that are for the individual's benefit alone and are provided irrespective of the individual's way of life and whether or not such services will benefit the community as a whole; (b) Those services which benefit the individual and the community, for example, medical care; (c) Those services that are beneficial to the individual, for example, law and order maintenance agencies; (d) Those services that are for the community alone and cannot be attributed to any single individual, for example, conservation projects. This classification is obviously made from a social policy and social planning perspective, hence its limited use in organizational research. Richard M. Titmuss, *Social Policy: An Introduction*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 123-125.

TABLE 5-7

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACTED ORGANIZATIONS BY FUNCTION

Function	PPS		DSW		DIAS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cash Benefits (i.e., employment, etc.)	54	36	14	18	2	6	70	26
Housing and Tenancy	2	1	2	3	1	3	5	2
Physical Health	9	6	5	6	5	17	19	5
Material Assistance (food, clothing, shelter)	15	10	8	10	4	11	27	10
Legal Services	29	13	10	13	5	14	34	13
Family Support Services (i.e., child care, day care, domiciliary)	6	4	7	9	0	0	13	5
Education	4	3	5	6	0	0	9	3
Mental Health and Psychiatric Services	7	5	5	6	10	28	22	8
Counselling, Guidance and Development	9	6	6	8	3	8	18	7
Recreation	2	1	2	3	1	3	5	2
Family Welfare, Family Planning, Pregnancy Support, Guidance	13	9	6	8	4	11	23	9
Planning and Regional Development	5	3	5	6	0	0	10	4
Information and Advice	6	4	3	4	1	3	10	4
TOTAL	151	100	78	100	36	100	265	100

Table 5-7 is an enumeration of the functions of organizations contacted by the three organizations. The thirteen categories are fairly exclusive although the researcher's arbitrary judgement has been used in doubtful instances. Wherever possible, similar functions are grouped together into a broad category. The major class of functions performed by the organizations in the network concerns employment-unemployment benefits, material assistance, legal services, physical and mental health. The PPS personnel consider the employment-unemployment activity as being dictated to them, both by their agency superiors and magistrates. Although the significance of this function is highlighted by the present investigation it has to be considered in relation to the economic climate prevailing at the time. We will note its relevance in the discussion of the global properties.

TABLE 5-8

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACTED ORGANIZATIONS BY GENERIC FUNCTION

Generic Functions	PPS		DSW		DIAS		Total Contacts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tangible Functions	109	72.2	51	65.3	17	47.2	177	67
Intangible Functions	42	27.8	27	34.6	19	52.7	88	33
TOTAL	151	100	78	100	36	100	265	100

Table 5-8 has attempted to bring clarity into the distribution of functions of organizations. A more explanatory classification of agency functions seems to be to group all agency functions into two large categories of tangible and intangible services. While the reduction in the number of categories invariably obliterates the minor differences in the functions of the agencies concerned, it has the added advantage in bringing out a much more useful distinction. This distinction is also termed consummatory and developmental. It is a dichotomy that is used by many sociologists in describing social activities.

Parsons has pointed out that every social system must solve four basic functional needs. It must fulfill two instrumental needs of input and allocation and two expressive needs of social and normative integration.[21] Based on this classification agency functions can be characterized either as directed toward instrumental activities or towards expressive activities. Instrumental activities refer to those services aimed at establishing a minimum material level. From the standpoint of the welfare system as a whole, these activities are properly described as 'functionally generalized'; that is, they are found attached to, or performing in place of, the family, education, industry--or whenever there is an unmet instrumental need. This concept is in one respect closely related to the notion

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21. Parsons, *The Social System*, p. 205.

of residuality discussed before; "What other institutions do not do, it is the job of welfare to do".[22] Expressive activities are mainly concerned with the enhancement of social functioning and belong more in the affective category. They are indirect, diffuse and long-term directed. The tangible and intangible categories correspond to the Parsonian instrumental and expressive categories.

In the tangible service function, we have included all types of cash and kind assistance, legal services and education. In the intangible group are included mental health, counselling, recreation services and other diffuse services related in an indirect way to consumption needs.

Table 5-8 shows the distribution of functions of contacted organizations in terms of these two categories--tangible and intangible. A significant proportion of agencies contacted by the PPS, 109 (72.2%) and DSW, 51 (65.3%) fall into the tangible service category whereas only 17 (47.2%) of the DIAS contacts are in the same category. The number of agencies in the intangible category contacted by the PPS, DSW, and DIAS are 42 (27.8%), 27 (34.6%) and 19 (52.7%) respectively.

On the strength of the data presented in Table 5-8 we can say that welfare personnel tend to use tangible services more than

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22. Wilensky and Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, p. 40.

intangible services. However, on a much more theoretical level, if our analysis is in the right direction, it reflects the trend expected in the next several years in the field of social welfare. Social welfare programmes need to be much more adequate to match with economic and social realities. In general, there is still a need to provide more public goods and services and more adequate transfer payments, yet they will have to be made in such a way that protects the core values of society. We have to treat with caution the assumptions behind the social security phase of the welfare state and the role that social workers are required to play. Social work will not become predominantly a clinical discipline, helping to treat and rehabilitate those who are the victims of experiences and handicaps. The fundamental underpinnings of income maintenance, health, education, legal services, and other material provisions need to be seen as an integral part of the social work role. That such activities will only be episodic seem to be a premature expectation. The issue becomes one of whether the profession makes its contribution by retaining its clinical-therapeutic core and seeing all else as derivative, adjunctive and maintenance oriented or whether social work is ready to become one of the primary disciplines in a social planning state. This does not mean that social service delivery systems will gradually relinquish their affective arms of counselling and other therapeutic roles. Or, to put it in a different way, contemporary society will not allow the social services to abrograte that function totally. There will always be a need to humanize people and arrest the

dehumanization resulting from their involvement in an increasingly one-dimensional world. The psycho-social needs of man created by the current socio-political structures demand services by people trained in the social and behavioural sciences. Even in a society devoid of material wants there will still be a need to fulfill man's innermost personal and psychological needs.

In general, the functions of the tangible services group seem to be dominated by the statutory sector such as education, health, transfer payments except for short term material assistance and shelter--a function performed by the voluntary religious organizations-such as St. Vincent de Paul Society, Salvation Army, and Women's Shelter. The study of voluntary services initiated by the Social Welfare Commission and carried out by the DSW estimate that approximately 17,500 persons are helped each year by the religious, voluntary sector in material assistance alone. Emergency assistance is also provided by non religious voluntary organizations such as The Australian Birthright Movement, The Association for Civilian Widows, Parents Without Partner, the Red Cross, and the Women's Shelter.

The intangible functions category is dominated by voluntary agencies except in the area of mental health services. However, counselling and casework services provided by the voluntary sector is of short-term variety such as helping individuals to overcome a particular problem, either in personal relationships or in obtaining legal, medical or other services. This is to be expected as the volunteers are little-trained except for short-term assistance.

Full-time staff with professional training are employed only by one or two organizations in Hobart.

5.2 (d) Frequency of Contacts

TABLE 5-9

FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS CLASSIFIED BY AUSPICE

Auspice	PPS		DSW		DIAS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Statutory	333	48.5	349	49.4	89	59	771	50
Voluntary	354	51.5	358	50.6	62	41	774	50
Total	687	100	707	100	151	100	154.5	100

Table 5-9 shows the aggregate number of times the three agency workers entered into transactions with outside agencies during the time covered by research. PPS and DSW which are statutory organizations comparable in size, show comparable frequencies and the frequencies are evenly spread between voluntary and statutory organizations. The only deviation is in the DIAS where frequencies in the statutory sector seem to moderately outnumber the voluntary sector. The table indicates one common character of the network of exchange behaviours; the statutory agencies seem to be more frequently used by the personnel of all three agencies. This is shown in Table 5-10.

TABLE 5-10

FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS CLASSIFIED BY AUSPICE AND NO. OF ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization	Auspice	No. Contacted Organizations	Frequency of Contacts	Mean of Contacts Per Organization
PPS	Statutory	31	333	10.7
	Voluntary	120	354	3.0
	Total	151	687	4.5
DSW	Statutory	26	349	13.4
	Voluntary	62	358	5.8
	Total	78	707	9.1
DIAS	Statutory	12	89	7.4
	Voluntary	24	62	2.6
	Total	36	151	4.2

The three organizations studied tend to use statutory resources nearly three times as much as voluntary resources. This again confirms our earlier observation that transfer payments and other consumption oriented services are invariably an integral part of the present welfare system inspite of the claims by many that democratically conceived income maintenance measures are available as a matter of right, assuring a minimum economic floor for all. The fact is that statutory services which are mainly of the tangible kind are still available to many, only through a

diagnostic service as social work, subject to wholesale administrative discretion. It can also be conveniently assumed that statutory services are used considerably because they are not dominated by the public assistance stigma, a banal feature of earlier welfare assistance.

These services are essential to modern social living and it is only in a context of adequate income maintenance, health, housing and employment policy that it is possible to plan and implement case services. They also have to be freed of the moral evaluative baggage that often interfere with their efficient utilization. The agency personnel interviewed were obviously sensitive to the needs of such utilities, although they were not considered to be the core professional role.

Interorganizational coordination should be considered important in a society undergoing rapid and uneven social change, increased social and geographical mobility and rapid technological development. The social resources needed to effectively function in such a turbulent society are higher--both qualitative and quantitative. The social resources needed to function in a traditional social role are relatively smaller. Social work is at that point of mediation between the individual and his social environment where, either through deficiencies in the individual or because of his particular situation in the wider environment, his maximum social functioning is impaired. Impairment of social functioning is manifest in numerous ways, meaninglessness in

personal terms or stark social deviations and violation of established social norms.

If, as is shown in our data, statutory organizations providing tangible resources, are more frequently used by the three welfare agencies, one could reasonably infer that this is perhaps a result of the conception of welfare task by the decision makers. In the interview all welfare workers were asked an open-ended question about their particular definition of the task activity in their own job. The main function as emphasized by the personnel were categorized into three as curative, developmental, or preventive.

Curative functions included statements aiming to identify and control those factors in the interactional processes that impaired personal social functioning. Welfare task was conceived as eliminating those antecedent factors that led to the breakdown and efforts of rehabilitating such interactional patterns. Developmental tasks included the creation, enrichment, improvement and coordination of social resources and the mobilization of the inoperative individual capacities to interact with the surrounding environment. It also included the aggressive component of social work to reform existing social arrangements. Preventive tasks entailed the early discovery, control and elimination of conditions and situations acting as impediments to better social functioning.

It was not the objective of our research to operationalize these areas to be mutually exclusive. It is also our contention that in practice they are not entirely separable. As Boehm comments:

> "Activities carried on in relation to any given problem in interaction may simultaneously have restorative, provisional and preventive functions, or may have implications for one while emphasizing the other".[23]

TABLE 5-II

CLASSIFICATION OF THE WELFARE WORKERS BY THE CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL WELFARE FUNCTION

Social Welfare Function	Name of Organization							
	PPS		DSW		DIAS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Curative	4	22	4	25	2	100	10	28
Developmental	11	61	8	50	0	0	19	53
Preventive	3	17	4	25	0	0	7	19
Total	18	100	16	100	2	100	36	100

23. Werner B. Boehm, "The Nature of Social Work", *Social Work* 3 (April 1958), pp. 10-18.

The arbitrary categorization of responses is shown in Table 5-II. The only inference from Table 5-II is that in the two statutory organizations the majority of workers at the base level emphasized the developmental functions as of primary importance. This can be construed as a reason for the greater use of tangible resources by the two agencies concerned.[24]

It will be unfair to either draw any firm conclusions from this Table or relate any one function as the one and only indicator of coordinative responses by agency personnel. Whilst admitting that the conception of one's task is crucial to one's actual behaviour we cannot overlook the demands placed on agency personnel by the programme of the agency and the definition of the role of the worker by the top decision makers, and the degree of access to other agencies. More than the above considerations the responses are not analyzed by the use of refined methodological

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24. Donnison asserts that the 'rites of democracy and law' neither provide nor promise a solution to the poorest people in the community, D. Donnison, "Perspectives on Poverty", in *Poverty in Australia*, (Sydney: Australian Institute of Political Science, 1969), p. 52. We infer that this developmental view is reflected in a kind of idealism that goes hand in hand with rational allocation of resources and structural change at the political level. See Edna Chamberlain, "Welfare and Equality in Australia", in *Perspectives in Australian Social Policy*, ed. Adam Graycar. (Melbourne: MacMillan, 1978), pp. 67-75.

tools, both quantitative or qualitative, to be of any greater use. Furthermore, it has to be stated that almost all the interviewees agreed on the necessity of all three task categories to carry out their particular responsibilities; they differed only in terms of their relative priorities.

5.2 (e) Intensity Levels of Coordination in the Network.

Organizational activity, including coordination, can be seen as directed toward achieving goals as defined by the personnel of a particular organization. Without totally assuming what the agency goals are we have treated it as an emergent property that is inferred from the actual behaviour of organizational decision makers. The analysis of functions of organizations contacted by the three organizations in the previous sections viewed coordination as any activity between two organizations which has consequences, "actual or anticipated, for the realization of their respective goals or objectives".[25]

A second dimension of coordination is to consider it as any activity that involves agency resources--elements needed to achieve organizational objectives. The resources that can be exchanged are many and varied. By considering the extensiveness of the exchange

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25. Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships", p. 588.

in terms of the quality and value of the resources exchanged we have arrived at three different levels of intensity of coordination.[26] This variable is significant because it offers an opportunity to obtain a reasonable estimate of the degree of investment an organization has in the exchanges with other organizations. The previous analyses of the number of organizations contacted or the frequency of contacts do not seem to bring out this fact clearly enough.

Table 5-12 shows the distribution of contacts for different levels of intensity in the three organizations. The pattern for the two statutory organizations is much the same in all three levels of intensity; information needs account for about one-third of the contact experiences; service needs by far the biggest category amounting to almost double the information needs, and joint activity becoming the last with only 5.5% and 6.5% in the two statutory agencies, PPS and DSW, respectively. In our research level one contacts include the giving and taking of information. sorting out criteria for eligibility, availability of time and resources about existing as well as new services and new organizations, and all such contacts prior to a definite contract for service. This level of coordination is the lowest level of coordination in social

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26. See Chapter 4 for the discussion on operationalizing procedures of this variable.

TABLE 5-12

FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS BY INTENSITY LEVELS

Intensity Levels	Contacts by the three organizations							
	PPS		DSW		DIAS		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Level 1 Information	257	17.4	282	39.9	99	65.6	638	41
Level 2 Service	392	57.1	379	53.6	48	31.8	819	53
Level 3 Joint Activity	38	5.5	46	6.5	4	2.6	88	6
Total	687	100	707	100	151	100	154.5	100

welfare, according to Reid.[27] Decisions about what and when to coordinate are left to the practitioner. Formal inter-agency agreements are not involved at this stage.

In the case of the DIAS more than 50% of their contact experiences are in the category of seeking information. This perhaps is interesting for our purposes because of the nature of its activities and the age of the agency. One would guess that established agencies such as the PPS and DSW require less of

27. Reid, "Inter-agency Coordination in Delinquency Prevention And Control", p. 423.

information in some areas such as eligibility requirements for services to clients and also acceptability of clients for certain services for two reasons. Because of the fact that they are statutory organizations there is specialized access to some outside organizations, for the statutory organizations that need to be contacted there is an "unbiased doorway". As for the contacts with voluntary agencies, there is a persuasive strategy because of the fact that the major problem facing voluntary agencies is funds and hence these agencies are responsive to the calls made on them by statutory agencies. In the study conducted by the State Strategy Plan the categories into which voluntary organizations fall in terms of government grants are shown in Table 5-13.

TABLE 5-13

PROPORTION OF GOVT. FINANCE IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Percentage of Govt. Finance	No. of Contacted Voluntary Agencies	% of Total Sample
100% Govt. Funds	9	17.7
> 50%	17	33.3
< 50%	9	17.7
Nil Govt. Funds	16	31.3
Total	51	100

Source: Tasmanian Council of Social Service, *Consultant Report No. 6*, (Hobart: Council of Social Services, 1976).

It is clear from Table 5-13 that 68.7% of all voluntary organizations in the sample relied on varying amounts of government grants. It is our contention that this fact has a definite bearing on the figures in Table 5-12. The other reason for low contacts for information are well known to voluntary agencies because of their longstanding service in their respective organizations. One probation officer in fact noted in his questionnaire that "being well known by the various agencies, information, etc., is freely given over the telephone. Therefore why waste my time and every-one elses, writing, etc.", suggesting the strength of linkages with voluntary agencies in the community. In the case of the DIAS it is limited in its ability to function as a free agent because of its 'unpopular' client group and hence needs to 'shop around' for a responsive source. This may account for its 65.6% use of exchange behaviours for information prior to using agency service.

There is a popular sociological myth that persons engaged in providing professional services, do not permit the commonly used labels and meanings to affect the relationships with the clientele. There is no evidence that professional training succeeds in creating such a universalistic moral neutrality.[28] On the

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28. The labelling theory provides models and evidence both on the characteristics for which people are stigmatized and on the process by which they are made to stick. Devalued characteristics range from those for which people can be legally punished to those which simply place them at a disadvantage in social and service providing centres. Friedson highlights two attributes: (a) the degree to which the individual is responsible for his condition;

contrary, in the general field of social welfare the drug addict is accorded less respectful treatment by social agencies, particularly the voluntary-religious ones. The fact that the agency itself is voluntary and very young suggests that it cannot make effective complaints against such discriminatory treatment. Despite some variations, it was reported that negative evaluation of drug addicts and also of the agency itself directly affected the ease with which services and benefits were obtained. This may even be partly a reflection of the fact that the clientele of the DIAS is heavily skewed toward the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, and supposedly very young school age clients are over-represented. More than the clients of other agencies, the drug agency client is defined as being 'in the condition for which he himself is responsible'.

Although the DIAS' primary purpose was to provide a service, according to its directors, it also assumed the role of representing their interests to other responsible agencies and, in so doing, had to deal with the consequences of society's negative assessment of its clientele. To repeat our original comment that social security benefits are subject to wholesale administrative

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(b) the imputed prognisis, curable or incurable. See Eliot Friedson, "Disability as Social Deviance", in *Sociology and Rehabilitation*, ed. Sussman, pp. 76-77. Also see Howard S. Becker, *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 323-327.

discretion and are not dispensed as the legitimate rights of the citizens, one can understand the data of the DIAS with regard to intensity level one contacts. The directors of the DIAS were eager to point out the least selective public organizations from the highly selective non-statutory and business organizations. Even in those cases when clients were referred after an initial information seeking contact to public organizations where none could be refused a service, subtle processes were enacted to 'get even' with the inappropriate demand of a disreputable agency.

Intensity levels of contacts are next correlated with the auspice of the agencies (Table 5-14). In this table the auspice of the agencies is treated on a statutory-voluntary dichotomy incorporating all business contacts in the voluntary category.

TABLE 5-14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTENSITY LEVEL AND AUSPICE OF CONTACTED ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Auspice	Intensity Level						Total Contacts	
		Intensity Level 1		Intensity Level 2		Intensity Level 3			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PPS	Statutory	107	15.6	198	28.8	28	4.0	333	48.4
	Voluntary	150	21.9	194	28.2	10	1.5	354	51.6
	Total	257	37.5	392	57.0	38	5.5	687	100
DSW	Statutory	87	12.3	218	30.8	44	6.2	349	49.3
	Voluntary	195	27.6	161	22.8	2	0.3	358	50.7
	Total	282	39.9	379	53.6	46	6.5	707	100
DIAS	Statutory	57	37.8	28	18.5	4	2.7	89	59
	Voluntary	42	27.8	20	13.2	0	0	62	41
	Total	99	65.6	48	31.7	4	2.7	151	100

Table 5-14 does not reveal a significant difference in the pattern of organizational contacts for the two statutory agencies in the intensity levels one and two. Intensity level two contacts for service seem to be proportionately higher than the contacts for information; except for the DIAS where service category is markedly lower than the information category. Interestingly, both statutory and voluntary agencies are contacted for service equally the same. The most notable difference appears in the joint activity category; the total number of joint programmes such as regular case conferences or joint supervision of clients undertaken by all three agencies is 88. Of this total, 77 (88%) are with statutory agencies. The voluntary agency--DIAS--in fact did not have any joint programmes with voluntary agencies. Whatever joint ventures it entered into, were with the statutory sector. Suffice to remark here that the social workers at the DIAS shared enthusiasm over the joint ventures it shared with the statutory bodies as if to indicate they were accepted at least by some statutory organizations. This matter will be taken up for discussion in the next chapter.

In the intensity level three category, the statutory organizations PPS and DSW seemed to prefer transactions with public organizations as against voluntary organizations. This is surprising because of the widely held notion that "there are certain services that voluntary services can provide more easily, more cheaply and more

effectively--family counselling...is one example".[29] Once again this has to be in terms of the meaning agency personnel give in relation to voluntary agency functions. As one supervisor mentioned, "The voluntary agency is a proven quality when it comes to either material and/or short term assistance, but it is hard to place on them the total responsibility for any client". Nonetheless, a few officers had level three contacts with some well established voluntary organizations for long term supervision arrangements but these voluntary agencies happen to be the ones employing qualified social workers.

There were specific reasons for the non use of voluntary resources at the level of high intensity. The welfare workers maintained that the voluntary worker had only a limited view of the client and could not be expected to have intense staff-client contacts. Voluntary agencies supposedly specializing in counselling and therapy did not attract the statutory worker very much. Family welfare services, for example, tended to make decisions essentially on the basis of age, sex, religion, and income which were arbitrary.

Some voluntary agencies of the denominational kind had acquired a reputation for strong, dogmatic ideological stances that

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29. John Davoren, *The Role of Voluntary Agencies in Child Welfare*, (Canberra: Social Welfare Commission, 1974), p. 8.

were somewhat repugnant to the persons of the welfare agencies examined. Some of the younger, recently trained welfare workers, carried a radical practice orientation in their work that questioned such agency functions. Obviously it is beyond the scope of this discussion to give a full account of their radical notions and contrast it with the traditional individualistic and pathological notions. Basically the radical version is a shift towards an interactionist view with a broad conception of social work as intervention in two levels: face to face intervention and intervention at the level of social organization and social policy. This view is now popular with the new deviancy theorists who are trying to rectify the past inadequacies of deviancy and labelling theories.[30] The radical social workers generally harbour a distrust towards segmented welfare for it indirectly erodes the responsibility of the state. The political consciousness of the radical social work is not sympathetic towards private welfare.

5.3 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter it has been the intention to exhibit the nature of the local interorganizational network under selected general variables. Whether public or voluntary, sectarian or non-sectarian

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30. For an expose as well as a critique of new deviancy theory see Ian Taylor, Paul Walton, and Jock Young, *The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), Ch. 1.

social agencies cannot be conceived as independent entities existing in their own right. It is useful to view them as working in a coordinated network to accomplish socially defined tasks. In order to understand this network the reported data has been classified according to major dimensions such as number of organizations, auspice, functions, frequency of use, and intensity of use.

Although welfare organizations are made up of people, and what happens in them is the result of directions of human beings, regularities are observable in the consequences of these actions which seem to create a form independent of these individual officers and yet intersect with them in a dialectical fashion. The results demonstrate an extensive use of outside organizations by our sample and thereby highlights the growth of private welfare in industrialized communities. The number of private welfare and private business organizations contacted by the PPS, DSW, and DIAS is more than the number of statutory organizations. Our statistics show that when considering the functions of the contacted organizations it is clear that welfare workers of the two statutory agencies, DSW and PPS, use tangible resources of other organizations more than intangible resources such as counselling and other therapeutic services. When the intensity of interaction patterns are analyzed we find that in the two statutory organizations, the interactions are predominantly for information seeking and service rather than for joint activities. Before the associations between variables are

examined in terms of the hypotheses and conceptualizations, the general variables provided an overview of the network so as to throw further light on the section on research hypotheses.

CHAPTER 6

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION: THE TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the examination of relationships between the variables discussed in the previous chapter. Mention has to be made that the relationships suggested in the hypotheses have originated from the preceding discussion of conceptualizations which mapped out the area of interorganizational coordination. Although all three types of properties crucial to organizational analysis, namely, *analytic*, *structural* and *global*, have been covered in the hypotheses the scope of the study dictated the research direction and depth of the property considered. Empirical referents and measurement scales used in analytic and structural properties should test the validity of some of the qualitative judgements made in the discussion. Because of the researcher's close involvement in the organizations under scrutiny such quantification necessarily adds to the validity of data.[1]

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1. Researchers are now using various data collection methods to study the same phenomenon as a means of increasing the validity of the explanation. Denzin calls this method as triangulation. See Norman K. Denzin, *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

The PPS and DSW being organizations that were comparable in size and goals afforded a useful basis for comparative analysis.[2] In the examination of some hypotheses the DIAS was not included because of the size of the organization.

6.2 Analytic Properties

Hypothesis I--There will be a direct relationship between awareness of interdependence by the welfare workers and the extent of interorganizational coordination.

Table 6-I shows the correlation coefficients between awareness and the number of interorganizational contacts for the two organizations PPS and DSW. (See Chapter 4: pp. 192-93 for the definition of levels of intensity).

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2. When Peter Blau talks of comparative analysis he means collecting "data on one hundred or more organizations of a given type in one study". Since such a research setting is unavailable in our situation the focus of this research will be a combination of both intensive observation and interviewing of all members to obtain a balanced picture of role relations and group structures within organizations as well as the achievement of sufficient breadth to permit a minimum of quantitative comparison. See Blau, *On The Nature of Organizations*, pp. 121-23.

TABLE 6-1

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AWARENESS AND ORGANIZATION CONTACTS, CONTROLLING FOR INTENSITY LEVEL

Organization	Total Contacts	Intensity Level 1	Intensity Level 2	Intensity Level 3
PPS	.67 xx	.71 xxx	.57 x	..38
DSW	.34	.44	.25	-.20

xP 0.05
xxP 0.01
xxxP 0.001

Table 6-1 indicates that our independent variable awareness has a strong association with total number of organizations contacted, and contacts at intensity levels one and two for the PPS thus supporting the hypothesis. The same pattern holds for the DSW but the associations are not at the same level of significance. Intensity level one coefficient of .71 in the PPS is predictable because of its strong organizational orientation toward finding employment for its clients as part of a probation officer's role. Similarly in the DSW the highest correlation coefficient of .44 is at intensity level one where the agency acts as a referral agent to other available organizations in Hobart. The assertion that was made earlier pertaining to the work of welfare workers, that increasingly they are acting as mediators in procuring essential goods and services for the clients rather than as caseworkers and 'therapists' holds true. This is further supported

by the fact that both organizations make increasing demands on the voluntary sector for services at levels one and two. (See Table 6-2).

TABLE 6-2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AWARENESS AND CONTACTS, CONTROLLING FOR AUSPICE

Organization	Intensity Level 1		Intensity Level 2	
	Statutory	Voluntary	Statutory	Voluntary
PPS	.66 xx	.56 x	.52 x	.48 x
DSW	-.15	.57 x	.25	.18

xP 0.05
xxP 0.01

In terms of our hypothesis the most significant association ought to have been in the intensity level three where coordination relationships are at its maximum level of intensity. As evident from Table 6-1 there is no association between awareness and contacts at intensity level three in the DSW. This is surprising inspite of the presence of high awareness scores for both organizations. (See Table 6-3 for awareness scores)

This lack of an association between individual awareness scores and interactions at intensity level three in the DSW can be explained at a theoretical level by the fact that there may be intervening variables between the social attitudes towards one's organizational task and the actual behaviour. Awareness no doubt is

only a predisposition to act in a designated social situation. Because it is nothing more than a verbal response to a symbolic situation we have to go into the realities of the situation to determine whether the presumed relationship between a verbalized reaction to a symbolic situation holds true when faced with the real social stimuli.[3] Forcese and Richer remark:

> "At the very least one must be aware that a relationship between attitudes and behaviour certainly cannot and must not be taken for granted. More than this, we cannot resist the implication that we must begin to pay some attention to measuring behaviour more directly if it is in fact behaviour that we wish to explain.[4]

The transactions entered into specifically at the intensity level three led into a surveying of many of the experiences past and present, as was possible in the interviews. Figure 6-I is a diagrammatic representation of the 'game' that some workers play when it comes to specifically level three interactions which are generally intense, long term and time consuming.

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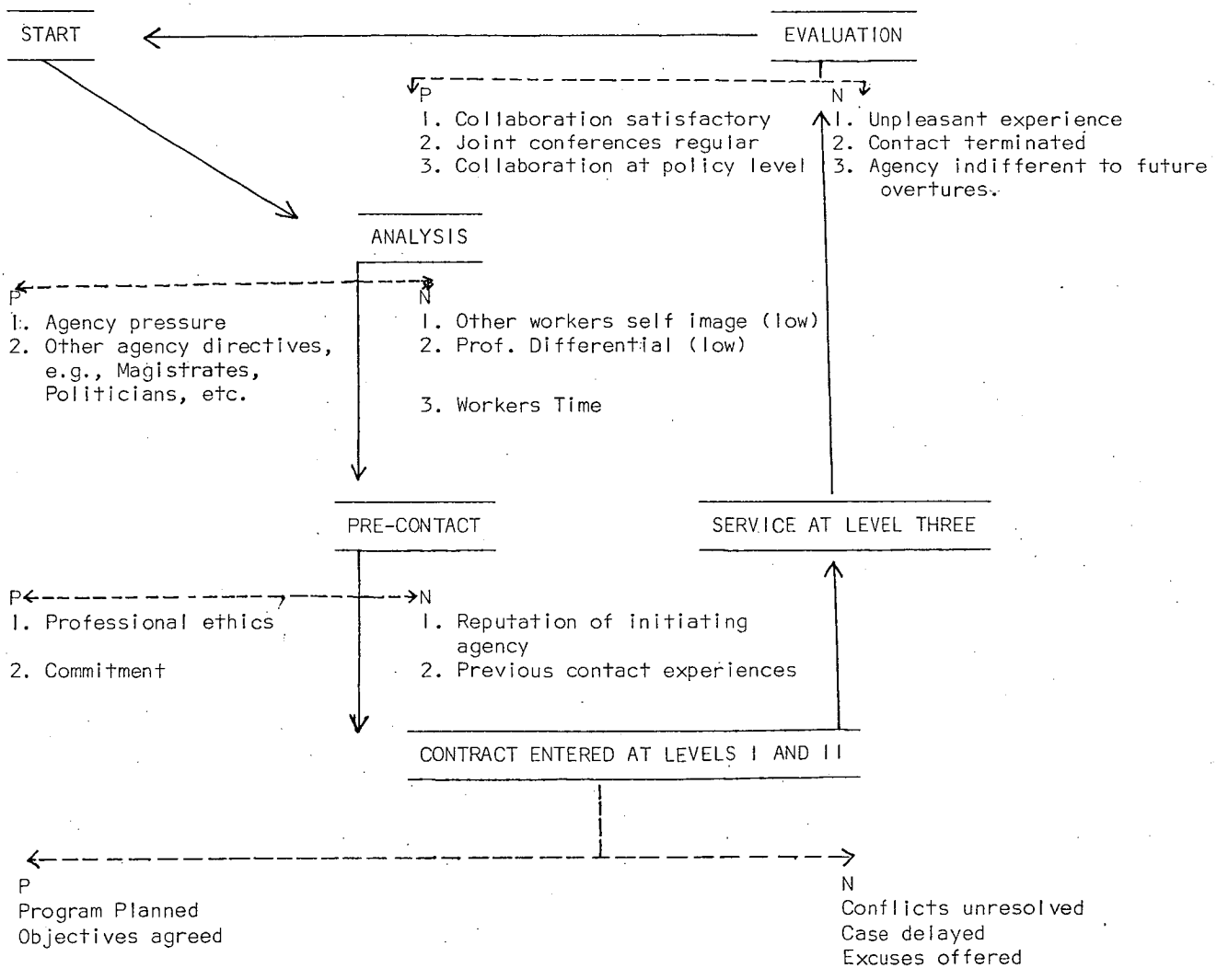
3. See Dennis P. Forcese and Stephen Richer, eds., *Stages of Social Research: Contemporary Perspectives*, (N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), Ch. 3.

4. ibid. p. 69-69.

FIGURE 6-I

PROCESS LEADING TO LEVEL THREE INTERACTIONS



KEY: P = Positive influences

N = Negative influences

= Possible danger spots

Figure 6-1 is a generalized version of the interaction process that leads to a concrete intensity level three interaction. Intensity level three interactions, to reiterate, refer to joint collaborative efforts which are time bound, lasting over a period of time. These happen to be joint supervision of cases, attendance at case conferences, membership in joint programmes such as women's movements, tenancy unions, consciousness raising groups, community health and welfare teams, etc. The interaction process happens at two levels of bargaining, i.e., at a personal-individual level and, secondly, at an organization-environment level. At the personal level, all long term contact requests as initiator or recipient starts by finding out details of the particular person involved in the transaction. In the process of 'sizing up', the worker tries to resolve not only questions of one's own self image but the other person's as well. This was quite marked in Hobart, attributable in part to the smallness of the community and partly to the spatial distribution of the agencies of welfare. Because of the fact that almost all agencies both statutory and voluntary congregate in the centre of the city, personal details about workers, and information, public and private, about organizations spread with amazing rapidity. This sometimes has the salutory effect of increasing collaboration as well as the inhibitory effect of minimizing collaboration. Instances of both types of experiences were frequent. The situation gives occasion to rethink the popularly held notions of gemeinschaft type society described in the literature: small

communities are always caught between the warmth and intimacy of contacts as well as the bitterness and acrimony of factions.

The feelings of warmth and intimacy as well as feelings of hatred and animosity definitely did enter into the transactions of high intensity. At lower levels of intensity, the feelings either about a particular worker or a particular organization, or sometimes both, may not count as significant for the collaboration is immediately terminated after referral or short term service. The evaluations are both overt and covert and sometimes there seemed to be a tendency to identify a particular person'a self image as the image of the agency. Some statutory agencies such as Mental Health and some other voluntary agencies in family welfare fell into this category.

In the interaction process there were many points at which individual personal orientations and attitudes seem to emerge as potentially significant. Commitment to certain professional standards and ethics at times did bind some workers to a particular course of action, despite agency orientations. However, the point that the Figure 6-1 brings out is the intricate combination of both personal and organizational orientations that go into worker-agency transactions. Whenever a personal 'sour experience' jeopardized a possible collaborative relationship, organizational pressures had to intervene if the proposed interaction was to continue. These, however, did rarely lead to further agency coordination for lack of

a commitment to pursue the relationship.

Even if we were able to identify that some or all of our welfare workers tended to subscribe to a particular ideology or a set of assumptions, it is very likely that we encounter difficulties in trying to find out how they worked out in practice. It has been demonstrated that there is always the possibility that people do not carry out what they preach. For example, Smith and Harris in a study of social service departments in U.K. found that although the official ideology was based on notions about the family and the community being the basis of need, social workers operationalized these assumptions in a variety of ways, leading ultimately to a variety of services ranging from material assistance and relief to casework, advocacy and social control.[5] Ideologies and assumptions appear to be mediated by the exigencies of practice. It is this possibility that lies behind an author's message to a probationer "choose your report writer with care for one may recommend prison, another may recommend a fine".[6] The crucial point that comes out in the discussion of this hypothesis is the necessity to observe individual orientations alongside the situational variables to

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5. Smith and Harris, "Ideologies of Need and the Organization of Social Work Departments", pp. 27-45.

6. Philip Bean, "Social Inquiry Reports--A Recommendation for Disposal", *Justice of the Peace*, 11 (1975), pp. 12-18. cited in Pauline Hardiker, "Social Work Ideologies in the Probation Service, *The British Journal of Social Work*, 7:2 (1977), pp. 131-155.

give a better picture of a relationship between the two variables of awareness and contacts of high intensity.

Hypothesis 2--Professionals in welfare organizations tend to engage in more contacts with outside organizations than non-professionals.

Table 6-3 presents the data relating to the above hypothesis. The limited number of professionals employed by the welfare organizations does not permit us to draw any firm conclusions but some useful observations can be made.

Table 6-3 makes it clear that the scores of professionals pertaining to the contact levels and awareness show a variation from that of others in the two organizations. The professionals show a definite pattern of communication with other organizations, especially at the levels of high intensity. Their levels of awareness of interdependence with services available in the community are higher than the rest of organizational members for both organizations. The rate of participation of the professionals in outside bodies such as associations, consciousness raising movements, clients' rights unions and other advocacy bodies, etc., was markedly significant. Contacts with outside organizations which represented performance beyond what is customary for those at one's own level of job, must be undertaken for someone or something. The something is provided by one's own normative reference group, which is a positive increment of gratification. The reference group of professionals outside and

TABLE 6-3

COMPARISON OF ORGANIZATIONAL SCORES AND PROFESSIONAL SCORES CONTROLLED FOR THE VARIABLES OF AWARENESS AND CONTACT LEVELS

Organization		Awareness		Contact Levels						Total Contacts	
		O	P	Intensity Level 1		Intensity Level 2		Intensity Level 3		O	P
				O	P	O	P	O	P		
PPS	Mean x	10.5	11.5	14.28	20.25	21.67	30.5	2.0	2.11	38.17	52.75
	S.D	2.8	1.4	6.3	6.1	12.0	12.7	1.6	1.0	18.3	23.8
DSW	Mean x	10.0	13.0	17.62	20.0	23.62	31	2.2	2.8	44.18	64.25
	S.D	3.0	1.3	8.8	2.4	12.6	2.2	1.2	1.3	17.6	6.7

O Organization Score (PPS N = 18
DSW N = 16)

P Professional Score (PPS N = 4
DSW N = 4)

inside the organization provided an audience that rewards and motivates the actor to go beyond the median performance level of one's own colleagues at the job. In an achievement oriented society, there is always the need to demonstrate one's competence lest the achievement will not be recognized or perhaps there will be rejection, criticism, or indifference by the reference groups when one solicits the attention of such an audience. The audience may, in fact, not be aware of an individual's performance but the individual is always aware of its potential existence. It cannot be denied, however, that the enthusiasm can also be a result of the fact that some professionals are so strong in their belief in service to the public and the sense of dedication to the profession that they venture outside organizational domains irrespective of the receptivity of the normative reference groups.[7]

From the interviews, it was apparent that professionals did use the other non-professionals as a comparison group. The 'others' did provide the professionals with a frame of reference that facilitated judgements about the performance and attitudes of professionals, an indirect legitimacy for the actions and the adequacy of their performance. There was no overt antagonism as such between professionals and non-professionals and the non-professionals seemed to accommodate the behaviour of professionals. Yet, there seemed to

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7. See Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization", *American Sociological Review*, 33, (February, 1968), pp. 92-104.

be a normative overtone to the behaviour of professionals.

The welfare organizations in Hobart have been recruiting professionals only during the last few years or so and this is beginning to have an impact on the workings of organizations both in relation to internal matters as well as to interorganizational relations. The bond between professionals working in different organizations did emerge as significantly higher than the bonds that professionals had within their own organizations. For some officers who had undergone professional training in the immediate past it was a difficult time being 'marginally' placed in both groups. In some situations, the marginality acted as a trigger for greater exertion in the direction of the service ideal.

Because of the small numbers in the population the quantitative data needs to be supported by the observer's rational interpretation of the contextual situation. The norms and ideologies held by the professionals as well as some others closer to the professionals seem to slightly deviate from the norms on which a bureaucracy normally operates. We might as well note here that even in Weber's classification of social action there was no corresponding administrative pattern with regard to value-rational action. We may recall that there was an anomaly when value rational action was combined with purposive rational action to be categorized under the formal bureaucratic framework. Therefore, when confronted with an anomalous administrative framework, professionally trained workers tend to operate

more or less as an informal ideological group sometimes disregarding the loyalties to a limiting administrative structure. These informal ideological groups are unstable, have a tendency to break up into friendship cliques, and tend to compromise between organizational adaptation and commitment to their ideology.[8] Small professional cliques therefore can be better explained through such a concept than the somewhat far reaching construct of professionalism. The mild ambiguity in their operations must therefore be understood as a resultant of the awkward situation in which they see themselves in the transitional phase of a professional bureaucracy.[9]

Evidence from the two organizations provides strong support for the hypothesis. The awareness scores are also significantly higher for the category of professionals in both organizations. Other information regarding the frequency of attendance at professional meetings and membership in professional organizations suggests that the professional organization acts as a reference group for these workers. The professionals verbalized the limitations of agency

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8. According to Nahirny value rational action predominates in informal ideological groups before they become formalized into institutional structures. See Vladimir C. Nahirny, "Some Observations on Ideological Groups", *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 (1962), pp. 397-405.

9. Richard Scott explains the awkward position of professionals in bureaucracies such as secondary schools, libraries, social work organizations by the use of the term heteronomous organizations. Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision", p. 57.

structures in restraining outside activities more than others. As shown in Table 6-3 the contact behaviours of professionals at all levels is significantly higher than non professionals and the range of dispersion for non professionals is very much higher at all levels of intensity.

Hypothesis 3--Welfare workers prefer to use informal modes of communication with outside organizations.

TABLE 6-4

RATIO OF INFORMAL TO FORMAL COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH INTENSITY LEVELS 1 & 2 CONTROLLED FOR AUSPICE

Organization	Intensity Level 1		Intensity Level 2	
	Statutory	Voluntary	Statutory	Voluntary
PPS	44:63	86:64	102:96	123:71
DSW	44:43	94:101	119:99	97:64
DIAS	39:18	32:10	110:18	10:10

Weber in his writings of bureaucracy attributed the success of bureaucracy to the uniformity in transactions. By uniform two things are meant: the task is recurrent and important, and the organizational procedures are standardized.

We have hypothesized that the most effective linkage with

outside organizations in welfare matters will be informal communication. Informality in communications, however, is a multidimensional concept that cannot be explored in depth in a limited study.

Table 6-4 gives a general indication of the frequency of use of informal communication in transactions with outside organizations. At intensity level one all three organizations have slightly higher scores for informal contacts with statutory organizations but the same does not hold true for voluntary organizations. At intensity level two where service is the main consideration the same pattern persists. The latter can be explained by the fact that welfare workers show an inclination to communicate with outside organizations at an informal level because of the strong commitment to the ethic of confidentiality. While the data in Tale 6-4 do not prove our hypothesis some comments can be made from the information gathered in the interviews.

Hobart has only a limited number of active welfare organizations in comparison with other big Australian cities and the use of informal means of communication can be expected to be high. But, the method of communication is not only a function of the variate size of the community. It can equally be related to the nature of the activity, awareness of interdependence and size of the organizations as well. Many officers agreed with the comment that the many intimate isseus of clients dealt with by all three organizations "cannot be settled by rules. Unless you talk to the person, or go to him direct, you will only confuse everybody, and ultimately who loses?"

There was another element involved in the presumed value of informal communication. Many had the impression that some organizations, statutory as well as voluntary had no awareness of interdependence and were either hostile or indifferent. Under those conditions formal communications were not easily entered into. The DIAS in particular, naturally disliked formal letter writing with some statutory 'social control' organizations and for very valid reasons. It was reported that in situations of organizational hostility or indifference, selective listening and misinterpretation of the message by the target organization easily occurred. For example, face to face interaction with the police department was preferred by all three organizations to reinforce the message of transaction and prevent it from getting segmented. Finally, welfare messages are considerably complex and informal communication serves it best. The data in our Table 6-4 is insufficient to point it out with exactitude but the assumption is held that welfare workers prefer informal modes of interaction to formal methods.

It is easy to understand why welfare workers in Hobart stressed the value of informal communication networks for yet another reason. In situations of few organizations, theoretically less standard formal communication procedures take precedence and, where the item transmitted is non uniform the most effective coordination

takes place under the guise of friendship.[10] Implicit in the use of informal modes of interaction is its consequence of bridging organizational distances too close. Generally, in situations where organizations use informal modes of coordination such as friendship, organizations tend to become close, sometimes leading to favouritism, nepotism, etc., in the lack of social distance. On the other hand, use of formal modes of interaction tend to drift organizations too far apart creating red tape and bureaucratic inflexibility.

It was seen that in the case of the DIAS when welfare workers collaborated only with known professional and personal 'friends' in other organizations this led to a systematic exclusion of other members in the network. As a consequence, the full resources of the network were not used. Nevertheless, there were many other instances in the PPS and DSW where informal communications averted red tape and rigid rules which normally minimize the gains of coordination. This was especially true in situations where short-term accommodation and emergency assistance were needed for the DSW clients.

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10. Rubin and Stinchcombe described a similar situation where a small group of investors formed a partnership to make a new product involving a large number of contingencies. In such structural circumstances friendship is an effective mode of communication. Richard A. Rubin and Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Interorganizational Networks as Systems of Functional Interdependence", cited in *Organizations and Clients*, p. 159.

Hypothesis 4--Awareness of interdependency by supervisory personnel will increase the exchange behaviour of welfare workers and the extent of coordination.

TABLE 6-5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AWARENESS OF SUPERVISORS AND CONTACTS BY WELFARE WORKERS

Awareness of Supervisors		Level 1		Level 2		Level 3	
High	Low	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
-	PPS	257	37.5	392	57.0	38	5.5
-	DSW	282	29.9	379	53.6	46	6.5

While it is recognized that an organization is in a sense a collection of persons behaving towards each other and toward common goals, it is possible to identify some influences that organizational members have to take in as 'givens'. These are the organizational or structural pressures that impinge on members depending on the respective positions they occupy in the organizational ladder. Persons in high ranking positions are presumably subjected to organizational pressures much more than those in subordinate positions. They in turn affect the subordinates role performance which has both a cognitive component as well as an affective component.

Supervisory roles affect the patterns of interorganizational coordination through the more or less stable patterns of interaction between the supervisors and welfare workers in an organization. Two supervisors at lower management level and two supervisors at middle management level and the top manager of the DSW, and two supervisors at middle level and two supervisors at the top management level in the PPS were interviewed.

Table 6-5 relates the awareness scores of supervisory personnel in the two statutory organizations to the total contact scores of welfare workers at all levels of intensity. The awareness scores for the two groups of supervisors were assessed from the responses to the questions relating to their awareness of interdependence in the achievement of organizational goals. Both PPS and DSW fall within the low category in terms of the aggregate organizational scores. It can be said that the low contact scores at level three intensity which are 5.5% and 6.5% respectively reflect this lack of recognition at supervisory levels. As we have argued elsewhere that if one were to treat contacts at level one and two as necessary to accomplish welfare tasks with or without supervisory backing, contacts of high intensity do not eventuate without a measure of supervisory support. The hypothesis can be accepted by the evidence in Table 6-5.

Welfare workers in both organizations discounted any significant intrusion of supervisory authority into their activities. Nevertheless, the subordinates were aware of the particular orientations of their supervisors derived from no identifiable source. In both organizations, the PPS and DSW, the majority of supervisors were supposedly committed to routinization practices, strongly attached to organizational autonomy and prestige. The PPS, for example, requested all interorganizational coordination to be mediated through a senior supervisor which was not strictly adhered to by any officer. At the same time the workers described many supervisors as friendly and useful but little involved in the actual work of welfare workers. This is reflected in the low scores at intensity level three for both organizations.

The supervisors in the DSW felt that they were trapped in a built-in dilemma. Professional service prevented them from exercising authority while at the same time organizational mandates required administrative control in order to increase efficiency. Whilst being aware of the need for extra organizational resources, they felt that they could not play a significant role in it.

A more useful method to study supervisory behaviour is to treat it as an organizational strategy. Reid suggests that in relation to coordination supervisors can give direction either through

facilitation or through induction.[11]

The facilitation strategy can be carried out by developing interorganizational awareness of potential interdependencies in relation to existing goals and resources. In the two organizations this was accomplished by bringing organizational representatives together at meetings to make welfare workers become more familiar with one another's goals, resources and, identify areas in which exchanges might profitably occur. The leadership role of the supervisors did not go beyond this.

Induction strategy can be effected through the creation of new goals, direction of new resources and changes in existing resource allocation to work with a definite orientation to coordination. Evidence of this strategy was lacking in both organizations. One main criticism levelled against the DSW by its own welfare workers was its failure to examine the caring contribution that could be made by members other than the nuclear familial group. There was a clear possibility of working together with successful fostering establishments, collective caring situations, childcare institutions in the community provided the organization was forward looking. However, one supervisor noted its absence in the DSW but suggested no plausible remedy to coordinate the many and varied

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11. Reid, "Inter-Agency Coordination in Deliquency Prevention and Control", pp. 420-21.

organizations currently carrying out this function in an ad hoc manner.

The middle level supervisors in both organizations were relatively more informed of the need to encourage interorganizational exchanges than the top managers. Generally there was a decrease in awareness with the increase in the position in the hierarchy. Lack of clear evidence in either the facilitation strategy or the induction strategy in the two organizations highlights the minimum influence that supervisors had on interorganizational exchanges.

In the opinion of one supervisor in one organization, coordination was achieved primarily by bringing workers together in a conference to discuss problems relating to interorganizational matters, amongst other things. But in the opinion of a majority of welfare workers in that organization, including many professionals, the meeting took the form of a ritualistic ceremony coloured by terms such as "brain storming", "collaboration of team effort", or as a mechanism to solve the "nitty-gritty" of interorganizational problems. As one senior welfare worker commented, "It is not that the conference is bad. Instead, it is the naive faith of the bosses that often accompany such a task". What he meant was that these ceremonies often deflected attention away from real problems.

In a general way, such ritualism is invoked to deal with intraorganizational stresses, or the sense of helplessness of some organizational members, including senior officers. Rituals are usually

invoked to manipulate people. That power relations become a fertile field for such ceremonialism should not surprise the analyst. Ambivalent relationships between superiors and subordinates become the subject and object for the expression of dependency reactions. It so happens that both superiors and subordinates in any power structure are constantly tempted to manipulate each other in order to control and maneouvre their private organizational domains. This happens in welfare organizations when there is a lack of confidence and credibility in the management efforts to guide performance levels in realistic ways. It then becomes evident that organizations' managers attempt to evolve a magic formulae for organizational problems as a substitute for disguising and solving real organizational issues. In bureaucratic organizations ritualistic ceremonials are used in proportion to the lack of understanding by executives of their leadership role. This can also happen when they are timid or incapable of involving themselves in the important functions of organizational performance. These remarks doubtless generate plenty of questions with regard to the organizations that were studied.

The distance between superiors and welfare workers in the two organizations can be described as arising from the peculiar combination of the authority structure and the technical task of the organization. In the case of the authority structure, the elements include positions in the hierarchy, distribution of powers of decision-making, delegation, and rules and regulations governing interactions between persons at different levels of authority. But as rules can never regulate every area of activity, areas of

uncertainty emerge which constitute the focal structural points around which collective conflicts emerge and instances of subordination and superordination are brought into question. In instances where an officer of a group which by its position in the occupational structure can control the area of uncertainty, that person or group has a strategic advantage in that the commands from above can be controlled. The position is the same with regard to the technical task of the organization. In the two organizations, PPS and DSW, the technical tasks were the main concern of officers at the base levels of the organizations and therefore the impact of directives coming from supervisory officers is minimally felt. There was also a reluctance on the part of supervisory personnel to directly command the lower grades of officers for fear of reprisals in the form of indifference and callous disregard.

6.3 Structural Properties

The hypotheses enunciated in this section are to explore the structural attributes of the organizations in the investigation and to see how they are associated with the interorganizational behaviour of the members. Whereas the analytic properties were based on data about each member such as awareness of interdependence, the degree of professionalism, and informality in communications, structural

properties are based on data about the attributes of collectives.

Hypothesis 5--Welfare organizations that score high in complexity will have more interorganizational contacts.

Durkheim popularized the concept of complexity or specialization. Hage and Aiken have systematically related it to other organizational properties using three empirical indicators: occupational specialities, the length of training required by each occupation and the degree of professional activity associated with each occupation.[12] In this study a similar index is used to infer the complexity of the two organizations. The DSW by far had the most number of organizational goals which were easily classifiable as distinct organizational activities. Foster care, institutional training, childcare, home maker services, court work, child protection, adoption and emergency relief, had distinct organizational identities because of specialist officers being designated as in-charge of such activities. In the PPS the only activity separable from ordinary probation work was the work order scheme inaugurated in 1972 whereby a work order sentence could be substituted for a term of imprisonment. Because the work involved is different from normal supervision of clients it can be counted as a separate goal and even a separate department.

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12. Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties: A Comparative Analysis", pp. 503-519.

Just as everyone is seeking to become a professional, organizations also show a tendency to become specialized in their different fields of activity. The DSW has higher scores on all three indices of complexity: internal segmentation, professional training and professional activity. Within the organization itself the different goals are becoming accepted sub-branches of the main organization. Organizations controlling child welfare function are now becoming diversified with the growth of behavioural science knowledge. Institutions are becoming not just caretaking establishments but people managing scientific enterprises. Fostering and childcare, however vaguely they are defined, take on autonomous roles. In the PPS the work order scheme becomes an autonomous branch of its own and in the present context those sub departments may not yet be ripe for intensive activity in their own right.

The data on complexity for the two organizations as related to contact scores are given in Table 6-6. Because the DSW had higher scores on all three indicators of complexity, namely, internal segmentation, professional training, and professional activity, it is regarded as high on our scale of complexity. The PPS, for lack of such specialization falls under the low category. The data on contact levels computed as an organizational mean and a standard deviation are higher for the DSW at all levels. Furthermore, they are high at level three, the highest level of intensity. Thus, the hypothesis can be accepted in the light

TABLE 6-6

DEGREE OF COMPLEXITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTACTS

Organization	Degree of Complexity	Levels of Contact						Total Contacts	
		Intensity Level 1		Intensity Level 2		Intensity Level 3			
		x	S.D	x	S.D.	x	S.D.	x	S.D.
PPS	Low Complexity	14.28	6.3	21.67	12	2.0	1.6	38.17	18.3
DSW	High Complexity	17.62	8.8	23.62	12.6	2.2	1.2	44.18	17.6

of evidence obtained for the two organizations.

As education levels increase, the degree of differentiation proceeds, stimulated by research and technology, and organizations have a tendency to become complex. As they do, they become creative and innovative. Innovativeness leads to greater relations with the environment thus multiplying cooperative activities between organizations. As the organizations become complex, scarcity of resources compel organizations to enter into interorganizational contacts and the community can indirectly demand such cooperation. This requires longitudinal analysis as well as a much more systematic view of many organizations. Complexity and other structural variables tend to be associated in patterned configurations with other variables and unilinear associations are very unlikely.[13]

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13. Configuration is the combination of selected variables each of which provides a measure of the development of a particular aspect of the structure. See D. S. Pugh, et.al., "Dimensions of Organizational Structure", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 13 (1968), pp. 65-105.

Hypothesis 6--There is a negative relationship between formalization and interorganizational coordination.

Formalization measures the rules and regulations in an organization which act as means of social control. The two indicators used were the precise delineation of tasks which we call job codification index and the strict enforcement of rules, which is called the rule observation index.

Social welfare tasks, it is often said, cannot be effectively carried out because of constraining organizational structures. But there have been only few studies that empirically assess the degree of formalization reflected in various types of rules and regulations defining role obligations and enactment. Job codification measures whether or not there are rules for the welfare workers while rule observation measures how much of such rules are enforced because many organizations do not enforce all regulations. Table 6-7 shows that in the PPS, the formalization measure is negatively correlated with total contacts, $r = -.57$ and also at level two, $r = -.63$ but much weaker at other levels. The relationship between the two variables in the DSW is in the same order. (Total contacts $r = -.18$, level two, $r = -.06$.) Despite the weak nature of the association the direction of the relationship between the variable is consistent. We are justified in accepting the hypothesis.

TABLE 6-7

CORRELATION OF FORMALIZATION INDICES WITH INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONTACT VARIATES

Organization	Formalization Indices	Contact Variates			
		Intensity Level 1	Intensity Level 2	Intensity Level 3	Total Contacts
PPS	Formalization	- .29	- .63xx	- .30	- .57x
	Degree of job codification	- .13	- .51x	- .21	- .42
	Degree of rule observation	- .42	- .56x	- .32	- .56x
DSW	Formalization	- .26	- .06	- .07	- .18
	Degree of job codification	- .02	- .01	- .04	- .01
	Degree of rule observation	- .55x	- .18	- .10	- .40

x P 0.05
xx P 0.01

Both job codification, and rule observation tend to discourage individual initiative and allow workers to operate with a minimum of fuss. Some organizations take a serious view of this control aspect because many outside welfare organizations tend to uphold values opposed to the values held by the focal organization. Although job codification is ususally productive in routinized tasks, in non-

routinized tasks such as welfare it tends to cultivate ritualistic behaviour. Those welfare workers who perceived a high bureaucratic surveillance in their respective organizations preferred little activity with outside organizations. This is different from those who believed in individual 'therapy' through counselling sessions, and therefore needed only little or no assistance from the organizations outside.

Hypothesis 7--Centralized decision making has a negative effect on interorganizational coordination.

Centralized decision making has been considered by Weberians as conducive to efficient task performance whereas human relations specialists contend that it decreases job satisfaction and thereby discourages individual initiative.[14] The degree of centralism was measured with a scale of "hierarchy of authority".

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14. For a detailed historical review of literature and organizational experiments reflecting this dilemma between efficiency and job satisfaction, see Nancy Morse and Everett Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable", *Journal of Abnormal and Normal Psychology*, 52 (1955), pp. 120-129.

TABLE 6-8

CORRELATION OF CENTRALIZED DECISION MAKING INDEX WITH INTERORGANIZATIONAL VARIATES

	Hierarchy of Authority in the Two Organizations	
Contact Levels	PPS	DSW
Intensity Level 1	- .74xxx	- .55x
Intensity Level 2	- .84xxx	- .39
Intensity Level 3	- .38	- .04
Total Contacts	- .87xxx	- .51x

xP 0.05
xxP 0.01
xxxP 0.001

As indicated by Table 6-8 centralized decision making is clearly related to all levels of interaction in a negative direction. The correlation coefficients are high at levels one and two for both organizations and the same tendency is shown in the regard to total contacts. Perhaps, one can argue that while the availability of discretion alone is sufficient for welfare workers to communicate with other organizations for information short term assistance, or a specific service to a client, this may not be sufficient for contacts at level three. The low correlation figures at level three for both organizations have to be explained in this manner. The data gives support to our hypothesis.

However, one should exercise caution in interpreting results on this index as well as the previous one on formalization for the weak coefficient at the level of coordination which is most intensive in terms of our classification. Whilst the organizational climate is favourable to coordinative behaviour there may be other variables that either support or restrain outside contacts (See the discussion on Hypothesis I). Also, centralized decision making as indicated by a hierarchy of authority is only a partial measure because we have not measured the participation of welfare workers in agency-wide policy making which can be separate from routine administration.

The low scores on centralization in both statutory organizations need comment. Most studies on organizational power maintain that centralized power is positively associated with the routinization of tasks in an organization. Crozier held that the power of the maintenance personnel in the tobacco plants was a result of the high routinization of activities.[15] Perrow maintains that the relative decline in the power of general medical personnel in hospitals during the last few decades as due to the same reason.[16] There is reason to suggest that welfare organizations in general exhibit low centralization profiles

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15. Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, pp. 187-188.

16. Perrow, "Hospitals: Technology, Structure and Goals", pp. 910-971. Blau says, "Routinized differentiation, which minimizes the need for professional experts, maximizes the need for managerial coordination. Centralized planning and direction are effective for coordinating fragmented duties performed by a relatively untrained staff. Routinized differentiation accordingly enhances the likelihood of the development of a centralized authority structure", See Blau, *On the Nature of Organizations*, p. 235.

which may encourage exchange behaviours, but for better analysis intervening variables have to be taken into account.

Both PPS and DSW showed less bureaucratic control which can be understood in terms of their loose structures. As a consequence there was little reliance on information from regularly scheduled staff meetings, regularly written reports, or data from existing records and documents. More emphasis was placed on informal communication including coffee-room discussions among staff and other procedures unspecified as to procedure and content. There was less precise and less specified communication of information giving greater opportunity for communication among all staff at all levels. Centralized direction regarding coordination with other agencies was lacking.

Hypothesis 8--An organization that services clients over a longer period uses more interorganizational contacts.

In welfare organizations it is easy for a casual observer to argue that coordinative measures should be a direct reflection of the job that needs to be done. Even if we discount the short term cases as needing less attention by the welfare workers it can be justifiably argued that the long term supervisees demand greater time and effort from the supervisor, The supervisor, whether a probation officer or a child welfare officer, can plan out a programme of action for a long term client for sustained rehabilitative effort. Many welfare workers complained about the lack of time to

TABLE 6-9

CORRELATION BETWEEN NUMBER OF LONG TERM CLIENTS AND INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONTACT VARIATES

Organization		Contact Variates			
		Intensity Level 1	Intensity Level 2	Intensity Level 3	Total Contacts
DSW	Long Term Cases	.16	.37	.07	.32
	Total Cases	.34	.47x	.32	.47x
PPS	Long Term Cases	-.05	.36	.16	.22
	Total Cases	-.09	.15	.11	.06

x P 0.05

achieve desired results through short term supervision. Table 6-9 gives the coefficients of correlation of long term cases with different levels of interorganizational behaviour. Correlation figures in Table 6-9 do not warrant the assertion that the level of inter-organizational activity is dictated by the longitudinal interest over the client. The DSW shows a moderate association between long term clients and contacts of high intensity while the PPS has a negative association at level one and only a weak association at other two levels. There is no support for the hypothesis inspite of the general belief that PPS clients do not make good case work material or that probation officers are busy engaged in contacts at level one and two. The clientele of the DSW, especially state wards, demand long term supervision but

the data do not support this assumption.[17]

6.4 Structural and Analytic Properties--A Concluding Comment

The structural hypotheses tried to illustrate the effects of social structures upon patterns of social action and differentiate them from the effects of influences exerted by the characteristics of the acting individuals or their interpersonal relationships. A structural effect therefore, is sufficient evidence that some social fact originating outside the individual is responsible for the change in the dependant variable that is being investigated.[18]

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17. In a study done by Jamrozik on delinquents before the Department for Community Welfare in South Australia, he found similar evidence for the lack of a straightforward correlation between the lengths of supervision of delinquents and referrals to resources outside the department. In a private communication he attributed this to the availability of many resources such as accommodation, financial assistance, foster care, psychological treatment, etc., within the same department. Interestingly, he also found that "Most frequent referrals were to Psychology Branch in the Department and to Mental Health Services" which indicates a high clinical/low social orientation of the workers as we have argued. See Adam Jamrozik, *The Delinquent and the Law*, (Bedford Park, Adelaide: The Flinders University of South Australia, 1973), Appendix B, p. 25.

18. Durkheim illustrated a long time ago the method of isolating structural effects in testing his theory of anomic suicide. Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, (Glencoe: Ill., Free Press, 1951).

There are many types of structural effects and our interest has been on the structural effects of relational networks--which Peter Blau defines as:

> "the supportive or constraining force exerted by the social organization of the relationships between individual and subgroups in a collectivity..."[19]

The variables of complexity, formalization, centralized decision making and length of supervision which were operationalized and measured can be described with justification as the social climate of the organization either influencing or constraining interorganizational coordination. Although some variables were significantly associated with the dependent variable of coordination, at varying levels of intensity, one cannot ignore the problems surrounding the attribution of causal influence in a casual manner.

The social climate of an organization influences the behaviour of individuals through transmission and enforcement by specific others. Social psychologists have for a long time maintained that institutional arrangements are ultimately mediated through individual behaviour.[20]

Without proceeding directly from characteristics of the larger system to individual behaviour, it is suggested by some to

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19. Peter M. Blau, "Structural Effects", *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960), pp. 178-193.

20. See Alex Inkeles, "Personality and Social Structure", in *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*, p. 251.

apply a two-step model for the purpose of causal inference. That is, first to deal with the individual's orientation to a given situation (analytic property) and then, determination of the relationship of that given situation to the characteristics of the larger collectivity. To come back, therefore, to our variables, one has first to look at the relationship between individual attributes such as awareness of ideology and professionalism and actual behaviour; and second, the relationship between such individual behaviour; within the organizational climate of the particular collectivity. This means finding answers to such questions as, "How flexible is the organization?" or "How centralized is its decision making structure?" and so on, Therefore, a sophisticated structural effect analysis has to take note of both steps in this causal chain. This helps to achieve greater theoretical understanding while at the same time avoiding reductionist tendencies.

Just as we oppose a reductionist argument that makes inferential leaps from the characteristics of individual traits to traits of organizations, so must we take care to avoid any simplistic notions of direct structural effects without regard to possible intervening factors.

Certain relationships between variables have been identified.

The rotated factors using varimax rotation* show that in PPS awareness is correlated with contacts of intensity levels one and two, contrasted with centralized decision making. It is reasonable to infer, therefore, both awareness of interdependence and centralized decision making as two independent variables, that are not sufficient causative factors in generating interorganizational contacts of high intensity. From the discussion on hypothesis two it was clear that professionals did engage heavily in level three activity, either as a consequence of their professional training or professional activity which were operationalized separately. As our varimax chart shows, level three activity stands solitary, thus supporting the above assertion. The same could be said about centralized decision making which is negatively associated with levels one and two, but not level three. In the DSW, the rotation chart shows the same with regard to awareness and centralized decision making, but the relationship is weaker.

In PPS the rotated factors yield the following groups of correlated variates: Centralized decision making seems to be negatively associated with awareness, contacts of levels one and

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* A factor analysis was performed on all fifteen variables for both statutory organizations. The principal axis method of factor extraction was used with a varimax solution for orthogonal rotation. The squared multiple correlation coefficient of a given item with all other items was used as a basis for the communality estimates. See Appendix E and F.

two, and total contact experiences. High intensity contacts are not associated with any of the variables that were measured.

In the DSW level three contacts tend to correlate with statutory organizations suggesting that workers in the DSW enter into a joint venture, if at all, mainly with statutory organizations. This is to be expected in view of the fact that statutory organizations preferred to use voluntary services for short term material benefits rather than ongoing joint ventures. In the DSW (Axis 2) the two formalization indices hold together and in the PPS formalization and its first empirical referent, job codification, tend to associate together. This gives support to the validity of measures of structural properties in the study.

The matrices showing correlation values among the variables discussed in this chapter are given in Appendix C and D. The 95 percent level of confidence was also selected rather than the usual 99 percent level because of the exploratory nature of the research; that is, to comment on variables of marginal statistical significance until one can learn more about them. The association between total contacts and levels of intensity is not unilinear for both organizations. The coefficient is weak at joint programme level for both organizations (DSW: $r = .51$); (PPS: $r = .42$). Awareness as an influencing factor for contacts of high intensity is not borne out of the data. The coefficient is .38 for the PPS and it is -.20 for the DSW. Therefore we are forced to conclude that

coordinative behaviour of high intensity is not necessarily a reflection of the awareness of interdependence in welfare tasks. It may perhaps be a necessary but not sufficient reason to engage in high level joint programmes.

In the two organizations the relationships between the voluntary sector and the public sector for differing levels of intensity do not show significant variance. In the PPS, at level one, statutory contacts correlate .47 with voluntary contacts and at level two the coefficient is .54. In the DSW the corresponding figures are .17 and .71. When the purpose of coordination is service to a client both organizations rely equally on statutory as well as voluntary services. The PPS however uses the voluntary and commercial sector as equally as the statutory sector in contacts of intensity level one because of its employment seeking function. The DSW however has less need for such information seeking contacts due mainly to the nature of demands by its clients.

Without doubt, the structural variables such as decision making and formalization show an inverse correlation with both levels of coordination and total contact experiences in the same degree for both organizations.

6.5 Global Properties

Hypothesis 9--Organizations whose input constituency is low and claim to special competence is not accepted fully by the members of the system tend to play a cooperative but submissive role as focal units.

Hypothesis 10--Organizations with high input constituency but low acceptance of special competence tend to be aggressive and competitive in dealing with the system.

Hypothesis 11--Organizations with low input constituency but high acceptance of their special competence are cooperative in their exchange behaviours.

Hypothesis 12--Organizations with high input constituency and high acceptance of special competence tend to be isolationist in a system network.

The interactions between organizations are said to be determined, in part at least, by the nature of the organization set within which they find themselves. As Warren points out:

> "the interaction between two department stores of a given size will be somewhat different if they are the only two department stores in a medium sized city from what it would be if they constituted two out of twenty different department stores of approximately the same size in a metropolis."[21]

This is important to recognize because of the fact that all formal organizations are embedded in an environment of other organizations as well as in a complex of norms, values, economics of the society at large. Any formal organization, therefore, has to be seen in terms of a subsystem of the more inclusive social systems of society. Yet it is only a part society unlike the total society because it defines only a specific set of goals and values which are relevant to its functioning.

Hypothesis 9 to 12 emanate from that definition of a part-society and concern a general class of boundary-relations problems confronting all types of similar subsystems. Parsons was the only social system theorist who gave attention to this fact in discussion of his functions of adaptation, goal attainment, pattern maintenance, and integration.[22]

All four hypotheses in this final section will be treated at a descriptive level. Actually, the four hypotheses have three

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21. Warren, "The Interorganizational Field as a Focus for Investigation", pp. 396-419.

22. Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology", in *Sociology Today*, pp. 60-65.

critical variables central to them. Rather than test how they interrelate to each other it is hoped only to describe the three variables. Moreover, the data from only three organizations do not warrant testing hypotheses in a rigorous way. The three variables are environment, input constituency, and special competence or domain consensus and in this study they can be indicated only in impressionistic strokes.

6.5 (a) Environment

Organizations differ in the scope and variety of needs they purport to meet and in very general terms one can say that industrialized societies demand the fulfillment of a greater variety of needs. The proliferation of nuclear weaponry, for example, demands the creation of organizations for peaceful purposes. The use of narcotics and drugs demands narcotic and drug treatment agencies. More unwanted pregnancies demand sex education, contraceptive services and abortion facilities. Working mothers need day care services and socializing agencies. We must recognize however that environments are themselves changing and needs tend to arrange themselves in a hierarchy. The hierarchy is set by the environmental agents of a society. They are the suppliers of resources, consumers of resources, integrators and competitors. Organizations whose goals are set by the suppliers of resources tend to be secure in their 'inputs'. In this study the PPS and DSW showed a tendency to be unconcerned about environmental uncertainty.

The security of employment, a guaranteed supply of clientele and the sacred character of its public auspice did affect their relations with the outside environment.

Differentiation of any society, which results from a growth of environmental resources, leads to an atomization of its members. As Stinchcombe pointed out, such differentiation increases the organizational capacity of its members.[23] There is also evidence that higher educational attainment which accompanies the expansion of environmental resources leads to greater community participation.[24] The rapid growth in knowledge resources leads to a large number of new organizations. By studying how much of a society's resources is allocated to the various sectors such as science, education, welfare economy, we can make inferences about the growth, size, location of new and existing organizations.

The nature of the interorganizational coordination is determined first and foremost by this simple factor of density. The density affects the modes and intensity of interaction. A small welfare department, which formerly was intended to satisfy a basic residual function in society may with increasing development concern itself with a variety of needs of individuals and groups, thus

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23. Stinchcombe, "Social Structure and Organizations", in *Handbook of Organizations*, pp. 142-193.

24. Murray Gendell and Hans L. Zetterberg, eds., *A Sociological Almanac for the United States*, (New York: Bedminster, 1969).

increasing not only the amount of interaction but also the quality of interaction. In such expanding environments the mutual influence of fields or organizations normally tend to exceed the institutional and organizational boundaries. The important fact is that we need not reify this interorganizational system into an entity by itself so as to study it, for the understanding of the exchange behaviour of constituent elements should bring out its importance.

Industrial communities, regardless of resources, are confronted with incompatible values. Moral standards such as happiness, lawfulness, harmony, survival, integrity and loyalty, can easily be in conflict with one another. Those value conflicts characterize the field of interorganizational coordination. What any society tries at a particular time is to reach an 'optimal mix'.[25] What this optimal mix is going to be at any time is decided by a variety of forces. These can be called decision contexts.[26] Welfare is placed in two kinds of decisional contexts. Statutory organizations are in a non competitive context and therefore the optimal mix is a matter of conjecture. These organizations respond to the environment in their own way.

The biggest environmental turbulence since the Tasmanian Bush Fire of 1967 was the collapse of the Tasman Bridge in 1975. The

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25. Warren, "The Interorganizational Field as a Focus for Investigation", p. 399.

26. Ibid, p. 406.

response by the two organizations PPS and DSW was to set up two branches on the Eastern Shore across Derwent River. The normal operations of the organizations continued without much change whereas other organizations were put to severe test in order to maintain their viability. Presumably, the notion of environmental uncertainty affects statutory organizations in a belated and gradual way. Changes in environment affect even private welfare where organizations either grow or strive not to be cast away. The DIAS whose values are in conflict at least partially with the environment is in a competitive context. And so are many private voluntary agencies. Banfield called this the social choice situation which:

> "is the accidental by-product of the actions of two or more actors--'interested parties', as they will be called--who have no common intention and who make their selections competitively or without regard to each other".[27]

It is a situation in which the outcome for the society is a 'resultant' and not a 'mediated solution'. Organizations which are placed in such a social choice context have output transactions both cooperative and competitive, and individual organizations, however large, cannot be successful simply by their own actions.[28]

6.5 (b) Input Constituency

Input constituency is conceived of as other organizations

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27. Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence*, (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 326-327.

28. Emery and Trist, "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments", p. 28.

and actors supporting, financing, promoting, providing programme material, or making decisions regarding the functioning of an organization. The PPS and DSW being statutory organizations feel obliged not to offend other statutory organizations publicly even though some of its members are bitter and angry towards them privately. The PPS, for example, is part of the Attorney-General's Department which made it very susceptible to the demands made on it by the parent organization, or by another arm of the parent organization such as the courts. The attitude of the probation officers towards courts in general is one of submissive cooperation. As a matter of fact some even suggested that they are officers of the courts to carry out the directives of the magistrates. This seemed to influence their behaviour towards other organizations as well as the clients.

The PPS is administered by a Principal Probation Officer as its departmental head but the entire organization is, for all intents and purposes, part of the criminal justice system. The programme of the PPS is explicitly stated in the Probation Offender Act, No. 2, 1973 which includes three main activities, namely, advice, surveillance, and control.[29]

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29. Probation of Offender's Act, No. 2. 1973, (Tasmania: Hobart Government Printer, 1973).

The PPS as a treatment agency gains societal approval for in today's society the proposed aim of criminal justice has changed from retribution to rehabilitation. We have been told repeatedly that the proper aim of a criminal justice apparatus should be the protection of society from crime and the treatment of the offender and not the exaction of revenge and punishment of the offender. It is generally felt by many sentencers that prisons impose degradation upon many prisoners and treatment notions of custody are self deceiving and at best sanguine rhetoric. In such a context the probation system has taken up the treatment ideology from the other branches of the criminal justice system, with societal endorsement. It is granted that probation systems all over the world are currently undergoing a process of internal self appraisal and this is definitely connected with the growing body of research challenging the rehabilitative ideal. However this may be, it is surely the case that the erosion of claims of particular professional skills in the handling of clients, coupled with the hints that any possible reduction of crime in society must lie in the working with communities in a very broad sense, should surely enhance the societal approval for probation services in the field of social welfare. Whether the probation officer's competence gains support from the community is another matter and a certain lag in its acceptance is not unlikely. The organization's input constituency is in fact its organizational ethos, and that gives the character to the organization. When one speaks of the character, consideration of power and prestige

do play a part. The judiciary carries with it a powerful status in the public service and the probation service feels that its relations with outside organizations will not necessarily be symmetrical.

The DSW had the same features in terms of this variable. Its finances were stable, clientele assured and programmes had legislative approval. Such organizations in a coordinated network can always afford to be aggressive and dominant. The DSW, however, functioned as an independent organization and to a certain degree the relations with outside organizations added to its rational legitimacy. Therefore the task of coordination of services was considered as of value. In areas such as childcare, fostering and adoption the DSW strived to be a community type organization rather than a purely isolated statutory organization. Though we did not see a great difference between the PPS and DSW in any significant manner, it can safely be assumed that the organizational ethos or the input constituency of the DSW is more conducive to collaborative relations.

The DIAS is the most interesting of all. Its input constituency in terms of finances and organizational support was considerably low. The agency was set up without any expressed sanction of the other agencies dealing with welfare. Three years prior to the setting up of the DIAS a similar organization was set up but experienced difficulties which precipitated police action

leading to its eventual closure. The DIAS was specific about its non recognition by some general practitioners who were suspicious of its benefit to the community. The DIAS felt that existing statutory mental health services were indifferent, the police somewhat hostile, and its support was from those interest groups who in turn had little community support. The DIAS operated on an annual budget with no guarantee of future funding. Such organizations tend to be cooperative and submissive in their dealings with outside contacts. The workers in the DIAS displayed exactly that tendency.

6.5 (c) Domain Consensus and Special Competence.

The establishment of a domain cannot always be arbitrary. It is dependent upon those who provide the necessary support in the task environment. Because organizations are dependent upon the environment the concept of domain consensus not only influences an organization's ability to establish itself, but also to maintain itself. Statutory organizations such as PPS and DSW do not concern themselves with the concept of domain consensus as much as any other private organization for the obvious reason that they have the legislative backing. This is not true of all statutory organizations unless the state holds a monopolistic interest in the marketed product. Generally, there will be no exchange of elements between two organizations that do not know of each other's existence as well as the

special functions carried out by such organizations. This awareness may be both implicit as well as explicit. It is on the prior consensus regarding domains that exchange agreements are transacted. In the case of many statutory organizations, particularly the two studied here domain consensus is unproblematic as long as the organizations execute the functions satisfactory to the legislators. The annual review of expenditure by a parliament is in a sense the annual ratification of domain consensus by the public. However, the task of establishing a domain does not necessarily rest with the particular organization concerned. Legitimation is mostly a function of other organizations.

The data on domain consensus here is gathered in the interviews with the workers in the three organizations on how they felt they were legitimated by outsiders. The PPS was always mindful of its statutory authority but many doubted whether they were treated as having special competence in the treatment of deliquency. The view was expressed that not even their parent organization and its arms took their competence seriously. By competence is meant the capacity of the probation officers to treat and prevent crime. The courts did not necessarily agree with their recommendations although it is seldom that a court disregards the advice from any other dominant profession.. Other welfare organizations such as mental health, too, did have serious reservations about PPS competence. In the community under study

no service as such operates at maximum capacity and therefore competition is keen. The case of the drunken driver is a good example. The PPS considers the role of psychiatrists in rehabilitating the normal drunk driver as a waste of resources. Yet the PPS is unable to espouse its claims because the ultimate judge of the suitability of service, either PPS or psychiatry, is the magistrate. Because the magistrates offer serious cases to the psychiatrists and less than serious cases to the PPS any joint endeavours with regard to the drink-driver is most unlikely. Moreover, the high status of mental health professionals makes symmetrical exchanges difficult.

The DSW had many areas of activity. In areas such as adoption, fostering and childcare its authority was legitimized by outside organizations. Children and young people come into the care of the Social Welfare Department either because of uncontrollable behaviour or the insufficiency of care that they receive from their parents. Society considers the behaviour of the children in the first category as harmful to themselves as well as to others, and with regard to the second category the situations are reprehensible to the moral conscience of the society. Hence the Director of Social Welfare is considered the moral custodian with regard to proper parenting and upbringing of children. He is the alternative social control and socializing agent. Both legally and socially the responsibility placed in the department is a serious

one. Unlike the PPS where supervision is a consequence of wilful wrongdoing in most cases, the child is considered harmed by the society. In addition to the normal child, the department is the only outlet for children and families with special problems of handicap and retardation. The domain of the DSW is much more accepted by society than any other welfare organization. It is no surprise, therefore, that welfare inspectors from other organizations such as social security are frowned upon by the neighbourhood and not the child welfare officer. The domain of the DSW comes into sharp focus when seen against the well accepted evidence of child psychologists such as Bowlby on the importance of proper caring for subsequent adult development. Despite modifications of some of these theories, they are still dominant in the child welfare scene.

As to the care and custody of children at the DSW no other organization will claim the power to decide on the separation of children from their natural parents. Definitely no voluntary agency will like to usurp those functions if it relies on public support. But, since it is a necessary evil the DSW enjoys public support indirectly and it is a fact that the community allows even unpalatable actions by government organizations if the intention is 'protection of the community'. It is the DSW that is considered the ultimate resource to turn to when everything else is exhausted. For those reasons the critical domain as such is unquestioned. Exchanges have to be seen in this light.

In point of fact, unlike many other statutory organizations who are losing domain consensus, the DSW is gaining more. In recent times the increasing number of mothers returning to the workforce has created a need for supportive services in addition to the traditionally offered services by the department. Increased mobility of the workforce has reduced the role of the extended family as a support for childcare, and the DSW has undertaken a new venture in coordinating childcare services in the society. Therefore the addition of new services by the DSW in homemaking and childcare has to be seen as extensions of domain assumptions and recognition of special competence.

The DIAS had the least amount of domain consensus. Its role was not legitimized by those groups from whom it had to obtain legitimate sanction. Because of its voluntary nature it had little power. Because of its particular relationship with drug users it had little general support from the community. In its counselling role, it was infiltrating into the domains of other counselling services in Hobart. The net result of a lack of domain consensus was that the DIAS, out of all three organizations, pursued a subdued cooperative role. Added to this was its 'liabilities of newness'. As Stinchcombe points out, the DIAS had to rely on social relations

with strangers[30] which the Directorate tried to avoid as much as possible. Even in relations with statutory welfare organizations the DIAS preferred contacts with professional colleagues rather than unknown administrators. As suggested by our preliminary hypotheses the PPS, DSW, and DIAS differed from one another in terms of the combination of global properties.

6.6 Conclusion

In testing out the hypotheses in the small sample of organizations included in this study it was found that in the analytic category the independent variable of awareness of interdependence by welfare workers had a strong association with the extent of coordination. From the personal interviews conducted with the welfare workers it came to light that individual evaluations of exchange overtures by outside organizations played a role in the success or failure of the coordinating behaviour especially at higher levels of intensity. The degree of professionalism was related to high intensity level contacts in both statutory organizations. It was observed that professionals found it easier to establish

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30. Stinchcombe, *Social Structure and Organizations*, p. 149. He remarks that the "liability of newness" is indicative of the conservative nature of society. Of the conditions that create the liabilities of newness, the most appropriate here is his discussion of the 'political' base where new organizational forms affect power of vested interests in society.

collegial relationships with comparable staff members in other organizations, thereby leading to firm exchange relationships of a more permanent nature. The relatively low percentage contacts at level three was interpreted as a reflection of an awareness score of supervisory personnel in both statutory organizations. The structural variables of complexity was seen as influencing the high contact scores of the DSW but in both organizations there was a moderately strong inverse relationship between formalization indices and contact behaviours and the same was true of centralized decision making. The independent variable of long term supervision cases had little or no bearing on coordination. Finally, it was possible to bring out the importance of the environment, domain consensus and input constituency as valuable external variables that affect organizations in their role in coordination.

It is difficult to see how any single piece of research conducted with a small sample, could do justice to all hypotheses included in this study. It needs to be said that the theoretical propositions that were developed in the earlier chapters need both data collected longitudinally as well as a larger sample of organizations embracing different kinds of welfare and non-welfare tasks. The empirical side of this research may guide such an undertaking.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, ASSESSMENT, AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

7.1 Introduction

The study of organizations in modern times has been approached from three major perspectives: the individual; the organizational structure; the system of organizations. Any study that takes note of any one dimension can lead to isolation and neglect of other areas mainly because of the complexity of the phenomena. The perspective used in this study is a combination of all three dimensions of analysis.

The use of the three approaches has the obvious advantage of restricting the research to fairly limited areas of interest. Needless to say, each of these areas has developed concepts and research methods which determine the focus of analysis and circumscribe its data collection in terms of theoretical relevance and empirical manageability. The overall picture is therefore derived by putting together the findings from the different approaches. The three foci utilized in this study, namely, the *analytic* properties, the *structural* properties, and the *global* properties corresponds to the three perspectives named above. It is important that whatever the facet of organizational behaviour that is under scrutiny all three properties should be looked at for a fuller understanding of the phenomena.

This study delved mainly into the area of facilitative interorganizational transactions. For lack of a better term to describe these interactions, the concept of coordination was used but with a well-defined meaning. This was an area that demanded more and more attention because of its potential significance in an organizational society. As an organizational activity, it is particularly important in the delivery of social services for, as we have pointed out at the beginning of this study, the multiplicity of interorganizational variables impinging on social service dispensation is so great.

In Chapter one, we argued that interorganizational coordination is an important area of activity in social work practice. Its importance was highlighted by the amount of transactions that cross particular organizational boundaries in social work fields of practice. Welfare in modern society comes to the client mainly through organizations either public or private. Social service workers, along with other professional groups have recognized the complexity of social causation and interdependencies among factors that influence clients' social functioning. Therefore it is belabouring the obvious to state that no single organization can treat a client solely with its own resources when ongoing services remain under the control of separate providers, each retaining a high degree of autonomy. Any welfare organization is compelled to enter into transactions with outside

organizations and welfare delivery is truly multiorganizational. The sociological understanding of welfare organizations will always be incomplete without an analysis of interorganizational coordination, especially at a time when the initial exuberance over the prospects of a smooth integration of services as the answer to social welfare problems has subsided to a more restrained and analytical level. In the following pages we will summarize the research findings of this study.

7.2 Research Findings

7.2 (a) Building a Theory of Coordination

It was the aim in the first three chapters to develop a theoretical framework in order to narrow the range of facts to be studied in interorganizational coordination. We have been concerned mainly with the formal organizations explicitely designed to process and change people. Although the analysis of these organizations is a new trend in the sociology of organizations, it follows a long tradition of theoretical and empirical studies on industrial, political, and governmental organizations. The emphasis on human service organizations cannot be considered as a limitation in the development of a theoretical framework on coordination for, as argued in chapter one, they are only an addition to the intellectual antecedents in both classical and contemporary perspectives on organizations. We have suggested in the early chapters that they

are a welcome addition because general organizational theory has *either* concerned itself with the impact of organizations on people as recipients of goods and services *or* has concentrated on the roles of individual members within organizations. The analysis of human service organizations necessarily combines both the impact of organizations on people and people as role players in organizations. Moreover, it should be apparent from our analysis that both organizational members and clients play a substantial part in moulding the character of these organizations.

In working towards a theory of coordination the research had to overcome one major lacuna in current sociological research into organizational behaviour, the dearth of both theory and research in the area of interorganizational transactions. As a necessary part of the investigation the concepts and variables relevant to a study of coordination were abstracted from a survey of existing studies into organizations. Certain variables prominent in intra-organizational thinking were found to be relevant to study interorganizational behaviour as well. In order to bring clarity into the concepts and variables and also to impose a system upon the facts to be observed a threefold classification was followed in chapter two. As a consequence of the classification it was possible to arrive at a precise set of definitions of the terms. In maintaining a distinction between analytic, structural, and global properties not

only did the study systematize the facts of social relations but also avoided the pitfalls of reductionist argument. In chapter three a further task towards the theory of coordination was carried out. Its aim was to summarize concisely what was already known and what is postulated to be the case in the subject under examination. As stated in chapter three, summarizing the concepts and variables helped to see the relationships between variables likely to emerge in the research design stage. The task set for chapter three was achieved by a novel method of organizing concepts which was by cross classifying them with certain basic properties of social systems.

What is important to note about the basic dimensions is the advantage the researcher achieves in being able to give a precise definition to the variable observed. In the sociology of organizations where concepts and variables are vague or diffuse this is a considerable advantage. Since we have considered the dimensions of knowledge, powers, rules and norms, and rewards as the central dimensions of social systems it was possible to go beyond a mere theoretical definition of a variable and progress towards an operational definition. In the words of Hage, the author of this technique, "The two definitions provide a critical and creative dialectic....Without a theoretical definition the indicators can remain too specific. Without an operational definition the meaning

can remain too diffuse. We want to guard against the excesses of grand theory and empiricism, as noted by Mills...."[1] Furthermore the cross classification pointed to new areas that have so far not been explored. Finally, the classification of system properties into those that contribute to a homeostasis and steady state and those that contribute to growth and achievement brought clarity into many of the system properties used in the literature on general systems theory.

7.2 (b) General Variables

The general variables covered the number of organizations in the network, auspice of organizations, functions, and the levels of intensity in the transactions between organizational workers. Inspite of gross differences in structure and function between the three organizations, there were points of contact. A majority of those points of contact happened to be at the base levels of the organizations. This is interesting and is also contrary to the expected behaviour of other non welfare organizations. We saw that the type of coordination that goes on in welfare at present is the task of welfare workers and not the key responsibility of managers. It was pointed that just as in high technology research, welfare deals in an area of high uncertainty and, therefore, at the extreme, need less formal but more permanent coordinators. The preponderance of coordination attempts at the base level were explained in the above manner.

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1. Hage, *Techniques and Problems of Theory Construction in Sociology*, p. 67.

The number of organizations that welfare workers contacted for a variety of purposes was substantially high considering the size of the metropolitan city. The important finding was the growth and proliferation of organizations as was evidenced in the frequency of their use by the workers in the three organizations of the study. It became evident from the analysis that the voluntary organizations used by the workers seem to provide services that are generally not offered in the public sector. As postulated in chapter one, social welfare is encompassing a variety of needs of a wide section of any society and therefore as a consequence organizational mandates are widening to cover a broad area of needs of its people. We also argued that the core function of social welfare, namely, mutual support, is general in composition, includes notions of integration, social control, and even consumption which necessitates a continuous expansion of welfare organizations in contemporary society. The assumptions made in chapter one regarding the nature and function of the institution of social welfare are confirmed by the data presented under the general variables. The variety of functions performed by the organizations in the network substantiates the claim made in support of the importance of the function of social welfare as a key institution in contemporary industrial society.

The structural variable of goals as an important determinant of the theory of coordination is also confirmed. The complementarity of goals has an overriding influence in the determination of the

extent of coordination as well as the intensity of coordination. The tendency on the part of welfare workers in the two statutory organizations to use tangible services of other organizations to supplement the services provided by their own organizations accounted for the lower levels of intensity where most contact experiences were recorded suggesting that complementarity in material terms may have consequences different from complementarity in developmental terms. Thus goal complementarity has to be subjected to further scrutiny. We have implied that the organizational variable of goals dictated not only the kind of services that a particular organization solicits from the environment but also the intensity with which such transactions were conducted. This research has confirmed that transfer payments and other consumptions oriented services are still an integral part of the welfare system and therefore policies for coordination between organizations in the welfare sector should be devised having regard to this factor.

7.2 (c) Hypotheses of the Study

Twelve hypotheses derived from the theoretical framework built in chapters two and three were tested out in three organizations serving a medium sized metropolitan city. In testing the hypotheses of the study consideration was given not only to the significance of statistical data but also to the actions and meanings that lie underneath such statistical descriptions. In this particular study these were an essential part of the explanation due to the social

research limitations mentioned in the final section of this chapter.

Out of the hypotheses pertaining to analytic properties awareness of the workers who manage the boundary transactions was found to be significant to the type of exchanges that occur between organizations. From the interviews conducted it was noticeable that personal orientations of members played a significant part in the exchanges of high intensity. The separation of properties into three categories has helped to bring out the importance of certain individual attributes in the determination of exchanges between organizations. The professionals were shown to have higher frequencies in the contact scores and also at higher levels of intensity. This is a reflection of the growth of institutionalized welfare where knowledge base of the practice is tending to determine organizational patterns. Our conclusions are similar to the many empirical findings cited in the review of literature on the variable of professional orientations in chapter two.

In testing out hypothesis four it was observed that the orientations of supervisory personnel played a part in the extent of coordination. This variable has often been tested in the context of business and political organizations and found to be true. The low awareness scores of supervisors in our sample of organizations signifies the low scores at levels of higher intensity. In the coordination of welfare services we have noted that this variable

has to be recognized because the institutionalization of the function of mutual support demands a variety of transactions between a number of public and private organizations.

In testing out the importance of structural properties the variable of complexity and its relevance to coordination exchanges was made explicit. Though this study did not venture into the area of multivariate analysis it can be inferred that organizations with a multiplicity of goals, have highly diversified occupational structures, are highly professionalized and consequently carry decentralized decision structures. There was clear evidence that the hypotheses six and seven test valuable properties in the structure of organization as well as those that are critical in the development of a theory of coordination. In our statement of purpose coordination is recommended as a solution to the organizational barriers, that tend to fracture service to the whole client which in turn dictates the relevance of the particular organizational form that is conducive to better facilitative relations between organizations.

Though the hypotheses pertaining to the global properties were not specifically tested the three variables explored where the knowledge is still deficient and where further study is needed. The systematization of global properties in terms of four basic dimensions made clearer where the research is productive and indicated the variables relevant for enunciating hypotheses for further research.

7.2 (d) The Role of Management

Lacking formal procedures, all three organizations studied here managed a relatively high degree of coordination but for the most part they remained at levels of low intensity. A notable element that was observed and one that has been documented in many empirical researches, has been the problem of "matching the case integration at the delivery level with programme and policy coordination at those higher administrative and policy levels".[2] Each welfare worker's knowledge of resources, manner of utilization, may have remained unknown to the others and one could say that organizations eventually lost the experience and benefit of such energies to the detriment of the overall objective of community welfare. The ideal management strategy should have been to control coordination by ecology, or in other words, creating the environment for collaborative interaction. These conditions were rarely achieved. As we went up the hierarchy in the PPS the managerial preoccupation was inward looking or perhaps procedural. The difference between this orientation and the orientation of the DSW and DIAS has to be attributed partly to the degree of professionalization seen in the hierarchy which needs to be studied in depth.

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2. Alfred J. Kahn, "Service Delivery at the Neighbourhood Level: Experience, Theory and Fads", *Social Service Review*, 50, (March 1976), pp. 23-56. Interagency relations and professional roles are frequently mentioned as the greatest obstacles to human services intents. See American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), *Human Services Integration*, (Washington, D.C.: ASPA, 1974).

With voluntary coordination as it exists in the network it was clear that the management levels essentially remained autonomous; each agency was trying to maintain its core services with only the boundary personnel attempting to create linkages with other providers. In a situation of that nature it is inevitable that the relationships between agencies remain uncertain. As Aiken and his co-authors have demonstrated, although coordination at this level may be satisfactory for client services it does not guarantee success at all levels. If all essential service providers are not identified by the administration coordination at best can remain at the case level without extending into the integration of resources at the policy and funding levels.[3] Hence the leadership roles of top managers of the welfare organizations need thorough examination. Leaders tend to adopt protective insular postures in the absence of compelling pressures to participate in coordination networks. In committing oneself to exchanges an organization has to give up its freedom of action in many ways. The ability of a manager to withstand pressures coming

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3. Michael Aiken, et.al., *Coordinating Human Services*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1975), pp. 147-54.

from outside varies in proportion to the resources that are in his command. The managers are threatened by collaborative activity when such actions indicate the erosion of their autonomy. Just as much the welfare worker is involved in a mixed motive situation so is the manager but for entirely different reasons.

If coordination is such an important task for welfare, more emphasis should be laid on the critical role of lower level workers. The bulk of welfare is the responsibility of such boundary personnel and there is a strong link between likely consequences for the community and the attitudes, orientations, motivations, and satisfactions of welfare workers. Understanding the roles of such workers can lead to better welfare. Role opportunity, role diversity, and role restriction are concepts that need to be taken seriously. Recruitment of welfare workers, training and socialization need to be done with care and consideration for the eventual goals of the organization. The range of variance in orientations that came to light in both DSW and PPS has to be taken note of by managers for the better utilization of individual talents. Coordination of tasks within an organization can be effectively done only when there is little role ambiguity in the minds of focal members. Ability to shape one's own work role is one of the freedoms that welfare workers may desire, but such variance has to be openly seen lest it leads to role stress and ineffectual performance. For example, the virtue of a clear definition of task helped the DIAS directors to plan and work at their strategy firmly and without conflict.

Many welfare workers were of the opinion that administrators were unconcerned about the worker's involvement with clients, except when organizational autonomy was interfered with or when financial accountability was an issue. In both organizations the flow of communication was predominantly from top to bottom and as far as internal organizational integration was concerned it was effective. As Blau and Scott pointed out, when the need for a coordinated organization is imperative, communication is of low value.[4] This is true if the success of an organization's task is dependent predominantly on internal smoothness. But poor communication within an organization can have dysfunctional consequences when the worker's normal boundaries need to be crossed. It was shown by the research that bureaucratic controls were at a minimum in both organizations in respect of formalization and centralized decision making. Yet when it came to going beyond one's own organization some of the workers shared a very defensive attitude. Some defended by suggesting the heavy involvement in paper work, inordinate amounts of travelling, heavy case loads as precluding any systematic coordination between personnel of different organizations. This may suggest an under involvement in initiating and formulating general welfare policies by the lower level welfare worker and relatively little support from organizational managers.

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4. Blau and Scott, *Formal Organizations*, p. 242.

7.2 (e) The Form of Organization

It is important to realize that welfare organizations are different in their organizational functioning from other bureaucracies. The boundary personnel function primary at the periphery of the organization, yet contributing to the 'extant'[5] functions and even moulding an organization's public face. Because of this they are likely to see the organization's role rather differently from the supervisors and agency-wide administrators. In the matter of interorganizational coordination, there was little communication between welfare workers and the top. The welfare workers were reluctant to enter into long term collaboration for lack of a clear policy on this matter. The low coefficients (r = .32, r = .11) between total cases and intensity level three contacts in the DSW and PPS respectively given sufficient margin for variations in individual client needs, in fact, is a reflection of this in both organizations. The greater part of coordination in both agencies remained at levels one and two. Being a necessary part of their day to day activity they contacted other organizations but they did not go enough to make client welfare a long term team activity..This needs to be stated because of the desire of many welfare workers to exactly engage in joint activities

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5. The 'extant' function of an organization is 'the continually developing reality' which may be at variance with the officially given interpretation. For an extended discussion of these distinctions in concepts see Donnison and Chapman, *Social Policy and Administration*, pp. 33-34.

but withdraw either for lack of time or a lack of clear commitment by the agency. Although some supervisors agreed that organizational controls may be necessary with untrained staff there was very little indication that professional discretion was relied upon for highly trained staff. If this were the case, one should expect that the highly trained staff, overall, would exercise more discretion in their activities and would be more active in inter-agency contacts. There was very little evidence of this, therefore our findings suggest that increased 'formalization'[6] of interorganizational relationships at the policy making levels may have led to increased coordinative behaviour by the lower level worker. We are forced to conclude this from the findings of our study.

There was some evidence to infer that organizations in which professionals predominate can vary widely in the sphere of coordinated ventures. This suggests that the organizational structure will change gradually towards flexibility because of the employment of professionals, but also that professionals will import their standards into the policy making levels of the organization. Welfare organizations are forced to accept these standards. In a criminal justice organization such as the PPS this importation cannot occur without

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6. The term formalization used here means broad based policies acting as inducements to ensure commitment and cement cooperation among agencies providing welfare.

conflict due to differences in value orientations of the different arms of the justice system. The employment of professionals in the PPS might be a real source of conflict if the professional's standards and general organizational standards accepted by the total justice network do not coincide.

It is generally held that there is an inverse relationship between the levels of professionalization and bureaucratization. Despite the small numbers of professionals both PPS and DSW were not bureaucratic to that degree on procedural matters. The fact of little bureaucratization was reflected in the presence of too many undefined areas of operation and coordination was one such. No doubt this resulted in conflicts and jealousies between persons of various organizations because professional norms had not filtered to all strata in the organization concerned.

The DIAS has always been keen to transact business with the professionals. As the Director of DIAS pointed out, "there is a sense of group cohesion among the professionals in town". The pattern of relationships was one of intense support and collaboration. Even when some of the functions performed by DIAS such as counselling intruded into the domains of another established agency such as Life Line, collaboration was easy when the linking pin was a professional. (according to the definition of the DIAS employees). If not, the pattern of relationships ended up in non collaboration and competition. Agencies having similar objectives showed a general feeling of non cooperativeness and indifference to requests

by DIAS for collaboration unless it was mediated through a professional or a personal friend. The joint activities that were carried on by the DIAS happened to be with statutory organizations because professionals were mainly employed by statutory organizations in Hobart. However, we are forced to conclude from the results of this study that greater recognition of the professional's work environment may have led to increased autonomy and discretion to seek outside support in favour of their clientele.[7] By formalizing the relations with the linking organizations the focal organization can increase the range of options available to the professional to exercise discretion in the choosing of appropriate services to the clients. Though some of the professionals managed to take advantage of these opportunities we cannot describe that they were sufficient when seen in relation to the low scores on formalization. It is granted however that in the interorganizational area, the interaction of professionals with outside organizations may have peculiarities not sufficiently explained by the pure introspective theories of professional behaviour and therefore, the relationship between professionalism and interorganizational behaviour deserves further study.

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7. One should note, however, that the general belief is that increased formalization of the professional's work environment leads to alienation and decreased professional autonomy. Whether this general proposition holds for 'employed professions' as social work deserves further scrutiny. See Richard H. Hall, *Organizations: Structure and Process*, (N.J.: Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 170-72.

We can now return to an issue raised earlier in this research and that is the exact relationship between interdependence and organizational structure. Organizational properties such as complexity, occupational diversity, and greater professionalism of staff lead in the direction of high interdependence for reasons adduced in our discussions in the second chapter. Our data have shown that involvement of staff in coordinating linkages produces secondary consequences such as the establishment of collegial relationships with comparable staff members, comparative frameworks for self evaluation, increasing internal communication and hence mechanisms for the control of such communication.

This pattern is further reinforced by the low scores in our formalization indices. Although not directly related to the concerns of this exercise, a notable characteristic of the structures of all three organizations studied was the looseness of rules and regulations. A fruitful line of research in social welfare organizations should be the examination of the reality of their essential nature. To believe that an organization does what is planned in advance, that goals are achieved through rational procedures as laid down in official manuals, etc., may not be real in concrete instances. Some of the practices that we find in social welfare organizations need to be studied through categories that are outside traditional organizational analysis. Parts of organizations may be understood through rational bureaucratic categories in the available literature but other parts need assumptions and categories that are

unconventional. From such a mixed perspective many organizations, mainly of the social welfare kind, will be seen to as unproductive, but ongoing productive assemblages of a different kind. It is a fact that these loose structures persist, grow and function rather than degenerate and achieve a stage of entropy, inspite of their so called lack of neatness. The technical task of the organization is a crucial variable in this line of thinking. How this looseness contributes to interrelations with other organizations requires a research exercise of its own.[8]

7.3 Measurement, Reliability and Bias

Measurement depends to a large degree on the development of standards. It is clear that we have used two types of measurement standards in this research process which can be broadly described a empirical and normative. Empirical standards are statistical averages and ranges obtained through the use of a questionnaire. All

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8. Using educational organizations as an example Weick has argued that the concept of a loose structure incorporates a number of disparate observations about organizations, suggests noted functions, and creates intriguing problems for conventional methodologies. See Karl E. Weick, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21, (1976), pp. 1-20. For an application of this new concept in the area of social welfare see D. Chandraratna, "Probation: A Loosely Structured Service Organization", Unpublished Master's Dissertation. University of Sheffield, United Kingdom, (October, 1978).

empirical standards enjoy a certain degree of credibility and acceptability in the circles of technically minded sociologists. However, the use of empirical standards sometimes gives a spurious sense of authenticity that may appear to be adequate. We should not forget however that empirical standards only give approval and respectability to normative statements and values. As such, empirical standards are not totally divorced from values that underlie whatever that is measured.[9] In the orientation measures, and also on the aspects of bureaucracy that we measured, the individual scores were nothing more than values and attitudes of individual officers. Although these were presented as non problematic, one should not forget the fact that they may not have captured the 'real' because of contingencies not foreseen in the measurements themselves. Therefore the separation of measurement standards into empirical and normative is somewhat misleading. [As a check, the awareness/orientation measures and the three sections in the questionnaire pertaining to job codification and decision hierarchy (items 33, 34, 35 and 36) Appendix A) were administered to a small number of officers while undergoing social work training in November 1976 and again in the research interview after a couple of months when they were back in their respective jobs and the scores in the two tests showed little

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9. Bechofer correctly points out that "there is really nothing 'given' about 'data'! It would be more accurate to say... that we buy information from the real world in exchange for assumptions". Bechofer, "Current Approaches to Empirical Research", pp. 81-82.

or no variance. It is through such checking procedures that we may be able to close the gap between the normative and the empirical.]

Reliability of assessment is also a major consideration in studies using qualitative data where so much depends on judgement. In this study there was some room for repeated calls on the same person to check on the reliability of the responses given. It was used to a reasonable limit. The only available mechanism for achieving a high level of reliability was to either specify the procedures and standards with sufficient precision so as to prevent errors in responses. Albeit such direction there was no guarantee that the respondents had not misconstrued the directives. In the questionnaire the classification of the need to report interorganizational contacts according to levels of intensity was the major area of concern. In the drawing up of the questionnaire, considerable care was taken to structure the schedule in such a way as to make it self-explanatory and also to explain at length in the interview the purposes of the research so that misunderstandings could be minimized as much as possible. In doing so we may have unwittingly worked towards high reliability at the cost of reduced validity.

In the process of trying to make sense of the empirical world of organizations it should have become clear that there is a gap between the empirical world and the conceptual world. This gap can be met but at some cost in elegance. Some authors even introduce another stage, that there is a 'real' world of which we observe some features to give us an 'empirical' world which we then

make sense of in terms of our 'conceptual' world.[10] This problem has given rise to a great deal of philosophical literature but at a pragmatic level the empirical indicators are construed as manifestations of a particular concept or theory. Whilst none of the indicators is seen as exhausting the concept, they should nonetheless reflect the essence of the concept to some degree. It is by the combination of indicators that we can reduce the error; by such a process we arrive at a better approximation. The sophisticated argument is that indicators bear only a probability relationship to the concept or theory.

In the sociological study of organizations we shall advance towards better understanding if we pay more attention to the actual relationship between concepts and indicators. The sort of indicators used here are the properties of individuals, structures, and systems. The properties of individuals may be construed as 'meaning centred', and the latter two as 'structure centred'. These properties generate different analysis techniques; more importantly the theory should recognize the different levels of the variable considered. Inference from one level to the next will not necessarily be valid if the theory cannot signifify the manner in which they are to be linked.[11] The third

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10. D. Willer, *Scientific Sociology*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

11. This problem is discussed in the analysis of so-called structural effects by Blau in "Structural Effects" and A.S. Tannebaum and J. G. Bachman, "Structural Versus Individual Effects", *American Journal of Sociology*, 69 (1963-4).

chapter considered in detail the manner in which variables are to be linked in the overall theoretical framework. Whilst not claiming to be a comprehensive expose or laying any great claim to originality, the theory of coordination developed in that chapter has recognized the value of such clear identification of levels of variables and levels of theory or concepts.

Bias in social science research of any kind is the rule rather than the exception. When the researcher uses his arbitrary judgement to impute meanings into responses the uniformity in assessment is suspect. Predetermined order or preconceived assumptions may be associated with bias. To overcome this problem questions were planned in such a way as to randomize possible biases. Many questions were kept open-ended to allow a broad description by the respondents before identifying the major orientation of the response. In so doing, arbitrary and unreasonable assessment was kept to a minimum in this research.

The material for the entire study was obtained from the three agency personnel. The measurement scales for the statements have been validated by previous researchers such as Hage, Aiken and Hall in cultures similar to the present one. The validity of those statements as measurements of certain aspects of bureaucracy was taken for granted in the present study. However, the researcher's involvement in the two agencies as field placements coordinator for social work students for over two years provided

considerable understanding of the workings of the two statutory agencies. Certain respondents were constantly relied upon to familiarize the researcher with the workings of all three agencies and those respondents in fact acted as key informants. Organization studies heavily rely on such informant techniques and this is not a weakness in itself. Quantitative methods using standardized measures in organizations is in fact coinciding with the right choice of informants in the organization.[12]

The use of qualitative data in social work research has another significance. A growing number of sociologists are challenging the widely held assumption that qualitative methods such as participant observation and in-depth interviews are to be used only as precursors to more rigorous and definitive quantitative research.[13] Qualitative methods, they argue, represent not preliminary but rather an alternative approach to arriving at truth. Filstead a noted exponent, puts it thus: "Qualitative methodology, allows the researcher to get close to the data, thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself--rather than from the preconceived, rigidly

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12. John Siedler, "Assuring Informants: Techniques for Collecting Qualitative Data and Controlling Measurement Error in Organization Analysis", *American Sociological Review*, 39 (1974), pp. 816-831.

13. See, for example, Phillips, *Knowledge From What?* p. 6.

structured, and highly quantified techniques that pigeon hole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed.[14]

Social work researchers justifiably avoid using qualitative data perhaps to distinguish their own research from most programme-oriented impressionistic research used mainly for parochial management objectives. But the obvious limitations of quantitative methods, the possibility of arriving at superficial caricatures, especially of the relationships, should stimulate the utilization of the tremendous potential in qualitative data. Recent advances in the control of researchers' biases in qualitative methodology to facilitate replication ought to prompt the scientists towards its greater use.

In this particular study there were additional problems to grapple with. It is generally accepted today that the area of sociology which has been designated as organizational theory enjoys an initial advantage over a number of other areas such as class, crime and church, because

> "modern organizations sociologically viewed, tend to manifest a relatively high degree of 'entavity'."[15]

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14. William J. Filstead, ed., *Qualitative Methodology: First Hand Involvement with the Social World*, (Chicago: Markham Publishing, 1970), p. 6.

15. Alastair Crombie, "The Case Study Method and the Theory of Organizations", *Australian New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 5 (October 1969), pp. 112-120.

This privilege, however, cannot be extended to the area of welfare organizations because of the close relationship they have with the surrounding environments. For example, at the very outset there is little agreement on the notion of 'complexity'. Problems are encountered in trying to decide when a social collectivity is large enough to call itself a complex organization. Because of these and many other reasons the general propositions supposedly having reference to the whole class or organizations had to be used with considerable caution.

This research, one may say, falls into that category of case study method in organizational studies, for very convincing reasons. Out of the three organizations studied, the DIAS was such a small unit that for comparative purposes it served little purpose. The other two organizations were similar on many counts and could have been easily classified into one type. Students utilizing the case study method face a constant dilemma in their work. As Blau argues, if theoretical generalizations are to be derived from the study of single organizations, then either the findings have to be compared with others from the literature (then the systematic data gathered from the case study is ignored); or else

> "the analysis must centre on internal comparisons of the various units within the organization". [16]

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16. Peter Blau, "The Comparative Study of Organizations", *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 18 (1964-65), pp. 324-328.

But it well to be sensitive to the possibility that even after the 'diminishing returns' set in for case studies in some areas, the single study of an organization may still be of great value in areas which are still less developed. Interorganizational relations is one such area where we cannot still specify what the significant 'elements' or 'characteristics' are to either measure or compare with a high degree of certainty.

The study of coordination, needless to say, requires many organizations or a cluster of organizations in a network to be comprehensively explanatory. This is not easy to accomplish. The setting in which this particular study was carried out had little scope for a study of such magnitude even if the resources were available. Again case studies are a necessary precursor to such a far reaching venture. Eventually, however, better explanations and concepts will be derived by a combined utilization of both.

7.4 Implications of the Study

The previous sections of this chapter explored the dynamics of the study in interorganizational coordination in social welfare. It remains to take a final step into an examination if the implications of the study to the broader areas of social policy and social planning, for they provide the guidelines for welfare practice. This section attempts to achieve this objective although the arguments may have been present at times in the earlier discussions in disguised and latent form.

The theoretical and empirical study of interorganizational coordination should interest the administrators, social policy analysts and social planners who are at the centre of the political debate on coordination. We should note in particular, that the social service administrator finds little of the policy choices available to him as clear cut as he would like them to be. Once a programme is set up, there are many details to be worked out, regulations to be framed, an organizational structure to be designed and administrative practices to be worked out. These questions become complex when matters such as coordination, client rights, participation, equity, and the quality of service impinge on his decisions. The social service administrator's problem lies partly in the abstract, reified nature of many of these theoretical statements. Discussions of equity and clients' rights are based on the abstract theories of justice; theories of participation are drawn from the classical dualities of citizen and the state; quality of life is couched in the abstract formulae of resource distribution, income transfers and taxation principles. These theoretical statements are very insightful but to put them into concrete practice there are hardly any guidelines. On the question of coordination of services the state of the art is no better. Therefore the 'scientific' study of this neglected area of interorganizational coordination cannot be overemphasized for it brings out the intricate relation between theoretical propositions and empirical fact.

We have to accept the fact that no matter how convincing the data about interrelations among human needs and problems, it is almost impossible to mastermind an undifferentiated, accessible, and efficient delivery system for the full gamut of social problems or for the multifaceted problems that beset a single individual. Kahn says:

> "The volume of need and range of service is so great in all but the smallest communities so as to create chaos if all is put into one operation".[17]

However unpalatable the experience of coordination attempts may be in such circumstances there is no better administrative strategy. As demonstrated in our study the ensuing problems in coordination are far greater than the observable need. There is a general recognition that different programmes and different client groups enjoy varied public evaluation, and as we saw in the case of the DIAS, are subject to differentials in professional dominance. Then there are the variations in administrative arrangements, professional expertise, and variations in ideals or beliefs. In such a context mere prescriptive statements on coordination of services will rarely achieve the desired outcome. What is therefore needed is the systematic exploration of different elements as they impinge on coordination

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17. Kahn, *Social Policy and Social Services*, p. 155. Also Titmuss mentions in relation to the proposal to unify all family welfare services under one Family Service Department that it can easily turn away unmarried mothers, childless couples and widows and widowers. Titmuss, *Commitment to Welfare*, p. 89. This kind of centralism is ideologically dissonant in Western democracies of today. It is referred to as 'creeping socialism'.

between organizations and this study was designed with that notion in mind.[18]

Research of this kind is of value to those working at policy planning levels. As Donnison has commented, human needs do not come in self-contained, specialized packets.[19] Therefore in those social services involving intensive intervention into interpersonal relationships such as probation and child welfare that we have studied, there is a premium on continuity of service over time and on the meshing of simultaneously rendered service components. These two types of meshing, sequential and simultaneous, are referred to by social planners as case integration.[20] The rationale is quite clear: if one were to undo what has resulted from a complex process of socialization and development, only an internally consistent and mutually supportive series of actions of equal potency can be expected to make any lasting effect. The PPS and DSW reported only relatively small instances of coordination at the level of case integration. Therefore

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18. The same idea is expressed by the Australian Council of Social Service when it remarks that "Coordination cannot be brought about by administrative or legislative fiat....Coordination is an ongoing process that takes place in relation to continually developing social needs, objectives and goals and resultant changing patterns of service provision". Australian Council of Social Service, "Australia's Human Services--Coordination. Of Whom, For Whom", in *Perspectives in Australian Social Policy*, ed. Graycar, p. 98.

19. David Donnison, Peggy Jay and Mary Stewart, *The Ingleby Report: Three Critical Essays*, (London: The Fabian Society 1962), pp. 2-3.

20. Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning*, p. 283.

the importance of policy making at this level cannot be over-emphasized.

Our evaluation of social services has provided hard data that show the need for several types of continuity. Yet the lack of policy or programme coordination is a serious handicap in this area. The agency personnel often referred to unresolved value conflicts in the handling of cases to which they must cooperate. There were numerous references to professional jealousies and notions of dominance and personal squabbles that often hindered effective service. The net result, they concluded was that the functions of the agencies did not add up to what the client needed. We have shown in our research that there were instances even when a third party, as for example, the courts requested coordinated action by way of a report prepared by personnel from two agencies such as DSW and a mental health clinic, the agencies entered into nominal cooperation which quickly dissolved after the preparation of the report, due to disagreements and prejudices previously held by the two parties. The over-emphasis upon organizational autonomy to the neglect of cooperation between agencies appears to suggest that in contemporary welfare there is no device whereby any agency can be assigned the responsibilities for continuity of community concern and hence any independent initiative may either be welcomed or sabotaged as aggrandizement. There is also the great need to protect the client against an unnecessary 'take over' by any particular agency. We need to remember that policies on

coordination carry risks of this nature and sociological studies should bring out these hidden dimensions to the attention of the practitioner.

Research into interorganizational coordination has significant implications to social work practice. Social workers whose aim is to provide a useful service to their clients are confronted by enormous challenges. The problems that confront them call for a great deal of knowledge and experience. However good their competence may be as persons, it is impossible to enhance their functioning if one overlooks the opportunities that ought to be made available to them with the least amount of constraints. Emphatically, we have pointed out the fact that the success of their efforts depend on the proper planning of opportunity structures within their organizations to enhance the latitude within which social work activity could be carried out. We observed that as practitioners they have for long realized and worked various modes and techniques of coordinating their work but the organizational managers seem to be lagging behind. The term "lag" is used in an informed sense for two reasons; either they have not realized the importance or have not genuinely encouraged it when it was brought to their notice; or else the management policy has been too inflexible to warrant better use of facilitative exchanges.

Social work agencies are beset with problems of staff shortages and competent staff. This latter fact has been the greatest obstacle to further development in the applied science of social work. As available knowledge and experience in this area is still scarce, a better utilization of existing manpower could be to work in coordination or conjunction with similar organizations or similar services. This research has noted the way in which the individual, structural and system properties interact in the area of interorganizational relations. When we are aware of that process and how in fact it operates, it is possible to encourage diversity without creating competition and exclusiveness. A great deal of time and energy of the expert in social welfare is saved for the betterment of society when his services happen to be efficiently coordinated. It is also pragmatic in today's society where social work as a profession is "committed to the more modest goals of helping individuls to better cope with what is, and of seeking changes in the social order in a reformist, gradualist fashion".[21]

Finally, it would be rash to press the conclusion that all failures in social welfare provision can be explained in terms of administrative weaknesses unless we have clear empirical evidence

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21. Galper, *The Politics of Social Services*, p. 188.

to that effect. It is well known that the most pervasive explanation offered for the nonrealization of the aims of welfare legislation has not been in terms of the weakesses of policies, but in terms of administrative weaknesses, especially the lack of coordination. We have to be ready with hard empirical data if we are to counter these claims and justifiably point at the failure of some policies which are flawed fundamentally in their conception. It is then that the practitioner can clearly state that facilitative coordination or any other administrative strategy cannot compensate for the lack of basic credibility in some policies which are out of touch with the economic, political, and social contexts of our time. Therefore sociological research into welfare practice provides us with concrete reference points in order to separate the real from the illusory explanation.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH WELFARE WORKERS

I am interested to study the variety of interactions that take place between organizations involved in the area of social welfare. Your organization is one of the three organizations from which these interactions will be understood. I am doing this study for the purposes of my doctoral programme at the University of Tasmania. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. I must also mention that this is a confidential survey and no names or personal data will be kept after the results are collated. The information supplied by you will be used in the strictest confidential manner. The head of your organization has given me permission to conduct this investigation.

Section I:

1. Name
   Job Description
   Department/sub department/division
   The date you joined this organization
   Previous experience in other organizations in welfare

2. In your particular job is it sometimes necessary to confer with personnel from other organizations? (statutory, semi statutory, voluntary, private, commercial, etc.) Can you give me the details of all contacts you had during the last two months in the form that is provided?

3. Since my main interest is in the variety of contacts that goes on in welfare, can you tell me in detail:

   (a) How significant such outside contacts are for you
   (b) What responses you get from outside sources
   (c) Any problems that you had that you may remember
   (d) Whether you have changed your attitudes to them over the period
   (e) Any personality clashes
   (f) Any professional clashes such as non cooperation, etc.

4. [related to 3 (c)]

The difficulties you mentioned I would like to know in detail. Can I ask you whether they were because of:

(a) rules and regulations?
(b) lack of proper rules and regulations?
(c) problems because of management?

5. [related to 4 (c)]

I would be glad to know the role of supervisors and managers in the task of contacting other organizations. Can you explain to me:

(a) what you feel about their role
(b) what you think their role ought to be
(c) how competent they are to perform that role satisfactorily
(d) Do they understand what you do?

6. About other organizations, what type of cooperation would you like to have:

(a) More referrals to you?
(b) More referrals by you to them?
(c) More case information for your benefit?
(d) More planning and systematic communication?
(e) Joint supervision of cases?
(f) Joint programmes?
(g) Any other type of coordination?

7. During the last couple of years that I acted as a field coordinator to the social work students I have noted a few things in relation to coordination. I would be glad to hear your comments. Feel free to comment on anything that you might consider I should look at:

(a) The problem of confidentiality as an impediment;
(b) Formality as an impediment
(c) Bureaucratic rules
(d) Lack of a professional orientation to work
(e) Lack of a commitment by supervisors
(f) Lack of resources like time, money, staff
(g) Religious barriers

25. Because Hobart is relatively small, does this informality at times inhibit or impede your contacts with particular agencies?

26. Have some agencies acquired a bad name for various so called "diswelfare activities"? If so, why do you think these things happen?

27. What about the amount of routine administrative and clerical work involved in your job? How much of that restricts your time to use other organizations for the benefit of your clients?

28. [Trained Welfare Workers]

(a) Do you regard that your responsibility is more to your employer than the client? Do you see a conflict?

(b) What can you say about your autonomy in the job? Is it limited in some respects? Is it limited by the supervisors and managers?

(c) What is the kind of relationship that you have with supervisors? Can you detail that to me?

(d) With regard to coordination, what specific opinions have you got? Can you see ways in which this can be encouraged?

(e) What involvement have you got with outside organizations? I like to know them in detail. What is the kind of involvement you have got?

(f) What kind of help do you give to other workers in the same job? What kind of help do you get?

(g) What about your involvement in the professional bodies? What contacts have you got?

(h) Do you think that social welfare is too fragmented both in government organizations and voluntary organizations?

(i) Do you play a part in formulating agency policy generally? About policy relating to coordination?

8. In my contacts with some welfare people in voluntary organizations in Hobart they have raised some issues which I am interested in. Can you please tell me what you feel about the following:

   (a) Many governmental organizations are little interested in personal, individual welfare. I think they refer to the fact that you are little interested in casework, therapy, counselling, etc. What do you think?

   (b) Most governmental organizations do not make use of religious voluntary organizations.

   (c) You have too much/too little work.

   (d) You are very formal in your approach.

9. Do other organizations make use of your services as much as you would like them to use?

10. If you had any conflicts with the other organizations can you tell me whether they were due to:

   (a) Particular personalities?

   (b) What particular reasons? (points of disagreement such as method, approach, or different value conflicts.)

11. Are you a graduate? Have you got any post-graduate qualifications in social work/social administration/social welfare. (From non-graduates find out the level of educational attainment.)

12. Do you belong to a professional body such as the AASW or ACOSS or any other?

13. Have you attended any meeting of a State Branch or Federal Branch of any such body in 1976/1977?

14. Have you presented a paper, written to a journal, or held office in any such body in 1975/1976?

15. What is your present caseload?

16. How many cases are of over 12 months' supervision?

17. About the 2 years and over cases, what is the general nature of such supervision like? Have they got added problems? Do they mean additional work, additional contacts, heavy time commitment, etc.? Please explain.

18. Do you think that better social work can be done when a client is in your charge for a longer time? I mean better planning, extensive use of community resources and greater collaboration with other agencies, and sometimes looking after the whole family if necessary?

19. What is your relationship with your supervisor? Can I describe it as friendly supervision, control, surveillance or something entirely different? Can you describe that to me?

20. With regard to the subject that I am studying how can your supervisors and top administrators help you?

21. Is your organization a loose kind of bureaucracy and if so, does it not help you to use your discretion to the utmost to help your clients?

22. Do you like if your organization had an official policy on coordination as such? What part would you play in formulating such agency policy?

23. I have been told that in Hobart, welfare workers operate on the basis of informality and friendship. What views have you got about this?

24. Do you think that this is a satisfactory way of engaging in coordinative attempts?

28. (j) Are bureaucratic rules an impediment to professional social welfare? Can you tell me whether there are ways of improving welfare practice?

(k) To what extent do you communicate with social work professionals in other organizations? What is the kind of bond you have got with them?

29. What are your thoughts about voluntary welfare? How useful are they for you? How useful have you been to them?

30. Have you got any particular strengths in the area of social welfare? I mean things such as counselling and treatment. Do you believe in their usefulness and so on.

31. I also would like to know about acceptance of your competence and your organization's competence in social welfare by outsiders. Can you explain what you think?

Section II:

In my study I am also using some statistical tests on the relationship between your attitudes and the area of my interest, namely, coordination. In this section, I would like you to give me very specific answers if at all it is possible.

32. How would you rate the following activities as a valid description of your work?

(a) In treating your client the main source of help lies in your interaction (advice, assist, and befriend) with the client and his family. Some call this area the techniques of human relations (Curative).

Rating Order (High) 1 2 3 (Low)

(b) Use of social resources, mobilization of client strengths, changes in institutions (Developmental)

1 2 3

(c) Discovery of causes and take preventive steps (Preventative).

1 2 3

33. Awareness

How do you score the following statements regarding your work?

Score 1. Highly important 2. Moderately important
3. Slightly important 4. Not important at all

Direct individual work with your clients who are in need of your services with little or no help from outside sources

Helping your client to adjust to the existing situation through counselling

Giving information about and referral to resources available in the community

Bringing existing community resources to bear on behalf of your client

34. Decison Making

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding your own position here?

Code DT (Definitely True) T (True)
F (False) DF (Definitely False)

There can be little action taken here until a supervisor approves a decision.

A person who wants to make his own decisions would be quickly discouraged here.

Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up for a final answer.

I have to ask my boss before I do almost anything.

Any decision I make has to have my bosses' approval.

35. Rule Observation (code as above)

Employees here are constantly being checked for rule violations?

Employees here feel that they are constantly being watched to see that they obey the rules?

36. Job Codification (code as above)

Whatever the situation arises you have procedures in dealing with it?

Everyone here has got a specific job to do?

Going through the proper channels is constantly stressed?

The organization keeps a written record of everyone's performance?

Whenever we have a problem we are supposed to go to to the same person for an answer?

SECTION II: Data Sheet on Interorganizational Contacts Over the Last Two Months

Please include all organizations contacted (other than branches of your organization, e.g., Probation Officers contacting the Magistrates, or Child Welfare Officer contacting residential institutions under the Director of Child Welfare).

In the column left for comments I would like you to state the objective, purpose, or any other information which I might find useful.

	Information seeking only, e.g., seek eligibility for a client. Availability of accommodation, etc.		Client service, Use of some outside organization for actual service		Joint Programmes, e.g., Joint Supervision of Clients, Case Conferences, Joint programs		
Name of Organization Contacted	Formal, e.g., letter	Informal Telephone, Meet a Friend, Personal Request	Formal	Informal	Regular	Adhoc Irregular	Other Comments Regarding the Particular Contact. Mention any Specific Objective or Purpose you had regarding the effort you took.
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							
16							
17							
18							
19							
20							

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH SUPERVISORS AND OTHER MANAGERS

1. Do you think that there is a need on the part of your officers to enter into a variety of interorganizational contacts? If yes, can you explain the purpose, form of contact, etc.

2. What part do you play in helping officers to negotiate these contacts? Have you taken any specific steps?

3. What problems have you encountered? How can they be resolved?

4. What about the rules of the organization? Do you consider them to be an impediment in some sort of way?

5. Do you think that if left to the discretion of the individual officer, they are better done?

6. How about a formal arrangement to facilitate these contacts? Or, are you against such a method, and if so, what are your fears?

7. Do you agree that many of your subordinates use little other resources in the community? If so, why? How can you overcome such a deficiency?

8. How about the qualified social workers? Is your attitude and supervision of their work quite different from that of the untrained (explain) worker?

9. I know that many of your officers engage in informal exchanges with other organizations without your approval. What are your feelings about that?

10. Do you consider that you have little control over your subordinates' activities with regard to those contacts?

11. Do you advise you officers in the importance of coordination in welfare in the routine supervision sessions that you have with them?

12. Is there any official policy with regard to contacts with outside organizations? If not, can you suggest one?

13. Do you consider that your success as a supervisor is dependent upon the extent of facilitative interorganizational coordination that takes place at the base levels of your organization?

What's your opinion?

1. Strong
2. Ambivalent
3. Does not agree
4. Does not signify its importance

14. How many officers are directly under you?

15. How long have you been in this position?

16. About your organization's competence in the job of social welfare/probation. drug treatment (Pick out the relevant aspect), is there a general acceptance:

(a) by the community at large?
(b) by other organizations?
(c) by other interest groups?
(d) any other comments?

17. Do you consider that welfare is too fragmented in our society? If so, how can it be overcome?

18. Because of your administrative duties are you in some way able to give enough attention to the kind of problem that I am trying to study? Any comments?

19. Have you anything to say about the voluntary organizations in Hobart with specific regard to coordination?

20. Some of your officers are involved in outside agencies, in boards of management, and so on. What comments can you make?

21. I have given a data sheet to be filled in by your officers to find out the contacts that they have had over a period of two months. Can you comment about it?

22. Can you suggest areas that I may have overlooked in this study?

23. Because Hobart is relatively a small community is coordination a non-problem?

24. Any other comments?

APPENDIX C

TABLE 1

PEARSONIAN CORRELATION VALUES AMONG VARIABLES--DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Variables		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Awareness	1	1.0000														
Intensity Level 1	2	0.4428	1.0000													
Intensity Level 2	3	0.2505	0.3967	1.0000												
Intensity Level 3	4	-0.2028	0.3509	0.3330	1.0000											
Total Contacts	5	0.3472	0.7917	0.8631	0.5171	1.0000										
Formalization	6	0.1039	-0.2613	-0.0681	-0.0768	-0.1857	1.0000									
Job Codification	7	0.2210	-0.0232	0.0146	-0.0417	-0.0097	0.9076	1.0000								
Rule Observation	8	-0.1521	-0.5522	-0.1801	-0.1010	-0.4043	0.6758	0.3038	1.0000							
Decision Hierarchy	9	-0.7434	-0.5531	-0.3993	0.0464	-0.5160	-0.0297	-0.0849	0.0818	1.0000						
Total Case Load	10	-0.0191	-0.0903	0.1503	0.1189	0.0640	0.1828	0.2393	-0.0052	0.4595	1.0000					
Long Term Cases	11	-0.2386	-0.0587	0.3606	0.1684	0.2212	0.1977	0.1630	0.1624	0.2275	0.6332	1.0000				
Statutory (Intensity Level 1)	12	-0.1544	0.5352	0.2998	0.5529	0.5249	-0.4357	-0.3062	-0.4511	-0.1376	-0.1472	-0.2066	1.0000			
Voluntary (Intensity Level 1)	13	0.5751	0.9239	0.3183	0.1609	0.6806	-0.1123	0.1072	-0.4429	-0.5725	-0.0364	0.0286	0.1718	1.0000		
Statutory (Intensity Level 2)	14	0.2548	0.3476	0.9438	0.1680	0.7819	-0.1667	-0.0780	-0.2412	-0.3921	0.0168	0.2448	0.2893	0.2650	1.0000	
Voluntary (Intensity Level 2)	15	0.1867	0.3858	0.9034	0.5068	0.8211	0.0613	0.1243	-0.0792	-0.3284	0.2979	0.4649	0.2590	0.3266	0.7117	1.0000
Means	16	0.2187	0.1245	0.1355	0.0795	0.1568	0.2049	0.1869	0.1369	0.1738	0.3314	0.1798	0.1037	0.0999	0.1286	0.1212

With 14 degrees of freedom

$r = 0.4683$ p 0.05
$r = 0.5897$ p 0.01
$r = 0.7084$ p 0.001

APPENDIX D

TABLE I

PEARSONIAN CORRELATION VALUES AMONG VARIABLES--PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICE

Variables		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Awareness	1	1.0000															
Intensity Level 1	2	0.7151	1.0000														
Intensity Level 2	3	0.5700	0.6819	1.0000													
Intensity Level 3	4	0.3859	0.1640	0.4086	1.0000												
Total Contacts	5	0.6778	0.8342	0.9680	0.4299	1.0000											
Formalization	6	-0.3001	-0.2933	-0.6362	-0.3074	-0.5716	1.0000										
Job Codification	7	-0.2068	-0.1356	-0.5105	-0.2135	-0.4213	0.9058	1.0000									
Rule Observation	8	-0.3210	-0.3210	-0.5602	-0.3259	-0.5655	0.7079	0.3420	1.0000								
Decision Hierarchy	9	-0.7613	-0.7405	-0.8456	-0.3890	-0.8788	0.3652	0.2727	0.3552	1.0000							
Total Caseload	10	0.2076	0.3481	0.4707	0.3229	0.4765	-0.2054	0.0988	-0.6203	-0.3378	1.0000						
Long Term Cases	11	-0.0929	0.1646	0.3718	0.0794	0.3228	-0.0743	0.1278	-0.3779	-0.1505	0.6300	1.0000					
Statutory (Level 1)	12	0.6698	0.8471	0.5974	0.1940	0.7253	-0.1706	-0.0350	-0.3201	-0.7495	0.3846	0.1368	1.0000				
Voluntary (Level 1)	13	0.5640	0.8714	0.5759	0.0920	0.7097	-0.3274	-0.1919	-0.4064	-0.5324	0.2204	0.1458	0.4774	1.0000			
Statutory (Level 2)	14	0.5217	0.8088	0.8496	0.2641	0.8941	-0.5315	-0.4509	-0.4271	-0.7083	0.1527	0.1669	0.6087	0.7753	1.0000		
Voluntary (Level 2)	15	0.4869	0.4349	0.9067	0.4369	0.8204	-0.5841	-0.4491	-0.5469	-0.7749	0.6244	0.4562	0.4609	0.2935	0.5480	1.0000	
Mean	16	0.1947	0.1253	0.0945	0.0720	0.1154	0.1759	0.1629	0.1185	0.1487	0.1677	0.1586	0.0934	0.1209	0.0947	0.0742	1.0000

With 16 degrees of freedom r = 0.4683 P 0.05
r = 0.5897 P 0.01
r = 0.7084 P 0.001

APPENDIX E

ROTATED FACTORS--PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICE

			1	2	3	4	5
Awareness	(awa)	1	-0.7610	0.0711	0.1233	0.4716	0.0664
Intensity Level 1	(L1)	2	-0.9613	0.0535	-0.1228	0.0055	0.2051
Intensity Level 2	(L2)	3	-0.6704	0.5306	-0.4218	0.2132	-0.1647
Intensity Level 3	(L3)	4	-0.1178	0.1841	-0.1061	0.8435	0.0525
Total Contacts	(TL)	5	-0.8088	0.4045	-0.3456	0.2252	-0.0394
Formalization	(F)	6	0.1786	-0.9205	0.1154	-0.1649	-0.2425
Job Codification	(JC)	7	0.0905	-0.9573	-0.1351	-0.0750	0.0385
Rule Observation	(RO)	8	0.2454	-0.4457	0.4811	-0.2406	-0.6019
Decision Hierarchy	(DI)	9	0.8008	-0.2152	0.1927	-0.3592	0.2703
Total Caseload	(TC)	10	-0.1899	-0.0564	-0.8207	0.3316	0.2646
Long Term Cases	(LT)	11	-0.0542	-0.0134	-0.9187	-0.1340	-0.0171
Statutory Level 1	(L1S)	12	-0.8350	-0.0889	-0.1611	0.2116	-0.0252
Voluntary Level 1	(L1V)	13	-0.8185	0.1705	-0.0543	-0.1863	0.3623
Statutory Level 2	(L2S)	14	-0.8109	0.4570	-0.1090	-0.0615	-0.0078
Voluntary Level 2	(L2V)	15	-0.4130	0.4762	-0.5819	0.3874	-0.2549

Axis 1: AWA, L1, L2, TL, L1S, L1V, L2S, contrasted against DI.

Axis 2: F, JC, contrasted against L2.

Axis 3: TC, LT, L2V.

APPENDIX F

ROTATED FACTORS--DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

			1	2	3	4	5
Awareness	(AWA)	1	-0.2278	0.1726	0.4177	-0.7217	-0.2190
Intensity Level 1	(L1)	2	-0.2216	-0.1605	-0.3754	-0.8566	-0.0711
Intensity Level 2	(L2)	3	-0.9620	-0.0319	-0.1338	-0.1672	0.1060
Intensity Level 3	(L3)	4	-0.2267	0.0486	-0.8727	-0.0371	0.1206
Total Contacts	(TL)	5	-0.7380	-0.0962	-0.3868	-0.5360	0.0495
Formalization	(F)	6	0.0368	0.9786	0.0903	0.0706	0.0907
Job Codification	(JC)	7	0.0476	0.8764	0.0276	-0.2102	0.1768
Rule Observation	(RO)	8	-0.0001	0.6821	0.1563	0.5291	-0.1044
Decision Hierarchy	(DI)	9	0.4381	-0.1530	-0.1482	0.5811	0.5635
Total Caseload	(TC)	10	-0.0503	0.1048	0.0216	-0.0231	0.9151
Long Term Cases	(LT)	11	-0.3664	0.1522	0.0067	0.1269	0.7793
Statutory Level 1	(L1S)	12	-0.1822	-0.3715	-0.7607	-0.1535	-0.2147
Voluntary Level 1	(L1V)	13	-0.1659	-0.0244	-0.0985	-0.9280	0.0211
Statutory Level 2	(L2S)	14	-0.9267	-0.1610	-0.0059	-0.1298	-0.0114
Voluntary Level 2	(L2V)	15	-0.8453	0.1313	-0.2849	-0.1770	0.2511

Axis 1: L2, TL, L2S, L2V.

Axis 2: F, JC, RO.

Axis 3: L3, L1S.

Axis 4: AWA, L1, L1V, (-DI, TL).

Axis 5: TC, LT, DI.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS (EXCEPT BUSINESS AND COMMERCIAL) CONTACTED BY THE WELFARE WORKERS IN THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS

Aboriginal Information Centre - Launceston
Aboriginal Information Service - Hobart
Alcoholics Anonymous
Alcohol and Drug Dependancy Board
Apex Clubs
Ashfield Boarding House
Ashley Boys' Home
Assessment Centre
Association of Civilian Widows
Asthma Foundation
Attorney General's Department
Australian Birthright Movement
Australian Broadcasting Commission
Australian Croatian Club
Australian Military Forces
Australia Post
Barrington Home
Beth Shalom
Blind and Deaf Society
Bowls Club - Lindisfarne
Bridgewater Action Group
Builders Labour's Federation
Calvary Hospital
Catholic Presbytery - Chigwell
Catholic Women's League
Civilian Widows
Child Health Association
Child Health Clinic - Claremont
Child Minding Centre - Lindisfarne

Child Protection Board
Children's Homes
Citizens Advice Bureau - Hobart
Citizens Advice Bureau - New Norfolk
Church Women's Group
Clare House
Clarence Advisory Bureau
Clarence City Council
Clarenden Home
Colony 47
Commonwealth Employment Service
Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service
Community Care and Information Centre - Lindisfarne
Community Health Centres
Consumer Affairs Council
Council for the Single Mother and Child
Country Women's Association
Criminal Courts
Crown Law Department
Department of Social Welfare
District Nursing Centre - Cygnet
District Nursing Service
Division of Recreation - Education Department
Drug Information and Assistance Service
Eastern Shore Liaison Committee
Education Department - Various State Schools
Education Department - Guidance
Education Department - Special Schools
Eliam
Ellerslie Combined Children's Centre
Epilepsy Association
Ethnic Affairs
Family Court

Good Neighbour Council
Grow
Halfway Shelter - Rokeby
Hayes Prison Farm
Hear-A-Book Servide
Hobart Benevolent Society
Hobart City Mission
Hobart Women's Group
Home Maker Service - Clarence Council
Housebound Reader's Association
Housing Department
Huon City Council
Hydro Electric Commission
Immigration Department
Insurance Offices
Italian Club
Jaycees
John Edis Hospital
Kempton City Council
Kingbrorough City Council
Labour and Immigration Department
Lady Clark Hospital
Lady Gowrie Pre-School
Lady Rowallan Special School
Legacy
Legal Aid
Life Line
Lions Club
Local Government Offices
Marriage Guidance Council
Masonic Club
Meals on Wheels
Mental Health Services Commission

Metropolitan Water Board
Mothercraft Home
Motor Registry
Mt. St. Canice Hostel
Multicap
Multiple Sclerosis Society
National Fitness Council
Night Shelter
Nursery and Child Care Association - University of Tasmania
Oatlands City Council
Oasis
Parents Without Partners
Peacock Convalescent Home
Police Boys' Club
Police Department
Polish Club
Pregnancy Support
Presbytery - Hamilton
Prison's Department
Prisoner's Aid and Rehabilitation Society
Public Trustee Office
Reform Church
Regional Council for Social Development
Registrar of Births and Deaths
Resident Action Group
Retarded Children's Welfare Association
Retirement Benefits Fund
Returned Services League(s)
Right To Life
Road Safety Council
Roseville Boarding Home
Rotary
Royal Derwent Hospital
Royal Hobart Hospital

Sixty and Over Club
St. John's Ambulance Association
St. John's Hospital
St. Joseph's Home
St. Martin Special School
St. Michaels Priory
St. Vincent de Paul Society
Scout Association of Tasmania
Senior Citizens Clubs
Seventh Day Adventist Church
Social Security Department
Society for the Care of Crippled Children
State Health Department
State Emergency Service
State Library (various branches)
TASCOSS
Tasmanian Bridge Association
Tasmanian Collection Service
Tasmanian College of Advanced Education
Tasmanian Council on the Ageing
Tasmanian Environment Centre
Tasmanian Play Group Association
Tasmanian Pensioners' League
Tasmanian Pensioners' Union
Tasmanian Spastics Association
Tenants Union
Transport Commission
Treasury - Superannuation Branch
Treasury - Taxation Branch
Unemployed Union - Chigwell
University of Tasmania
Valuer's Registration Board
Veteran's Affairs Department

Wingfield Hospital
Women's Shelter
Wybra Hall
Yalambee Hostel
Young Christian Workers
Youth Counselling Service
Youth Group - Church of England
Youth Hostels Association
Youth Support Programme
Y.M.C.A.
Quindalup Centre

APPENDIX H

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL DIVISIONS OF AUSTRALIA, 1947 - 1971

	YEAR				
	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971
	%	%	%	%	%
Metropolitan	50.72	54.06	56.26	58.23	60.13
Other Urban	18.14	24.88	25.88	25.13	25.53
Rural	31.14	21.06	17.86	16.64	14.74
Percent	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total No.	7,560.755	8,963,161	10,482,900	11,530,775	12,711,574

Note:
(1) Based on current boundary definitions
(2) Metropolitan areas are all State capital cities plus Canberra
(3) 1971 figures include the Aboriginal population

Source: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971.

[During the period 1947-1971 total urban growth has increased from 68.9% to 85.6% whilst rural concentration has dropped from 31.1% to 14.7%]

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